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A LETTER

FROM THE

CHEVALIER ANTONIO CANOVA:

AND

TWO MEMOIRS

READ TO THE ROYAL INSTITUTE OF FRANCE

ON THE

SCULPTURES

IN THE COLLECTION

81142 c. OF

THE EARL OF ELGIN;

BY THE

CHEVALIER E. Q. VISCONTI,

MEMBER OF THE CLASS OF THE FINE ARTS, AND OF THE CLASS OF HISTORY AND ANCIENT LITERATURE; AUTHOR OF THE ICONOGRAPHIE GRECQUE, AND OF THE MUSEO PIO-CLEMENTINO.

TRANSLATED FROM THE FRENCH AND ITALIAN.

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MEMOIR

ON THE

SCULPTURES

WHICH BELONGED TO

THE PARTHENON

AND TO SOME OTHER EDIFICES

OF

THE ACROPOLIS,

AT ATHENS.

READ AT A PUBLIC MEETING OF THE TWO CLASSES OF THE ROYAL INSTITUTE OF FRANCE, IN THE YEAR 1815.

CATALOGUE

OF THE

ELGIN MARBLES, VASES, CASTS, AND DRAWINGS.

Prepared from the MS. of M. Visconti.

[The Articles printed in Italics are not particularly noticed in these Memoirs.]

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9. Fragment of another Car, moving in the same direction.

10. Fragment of a similar subject.

11. Two Horsemen; one, nearly naked, seems to have a Thessalian hat thrown over his shoulders.

12. Three Horsemen, all clothed in tunics.

13. Two Horsemen, one with buskins.
14. One Horseman, with several Horses.

Detached Parts of the FRIZE of the Cella of the PARTHENON, the exact situations of which are not yet ascertained.

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Three Horses in quick motion towards the right; the Riders wear the tunic.

Three Horses; the Riders are all clothed in tunics.

Three Horsemen in armour.

Two Horsemen in tunics; one has his right hand on his horse's head.

Two Horsemen in armour: the foremost has a helmet, the other appears, from the holes which are in the Marble, to have had some ornament of metal fixed on the head.

Two Horsemen in tunics; part of three Horses.

Part of three Horses, and three Riders in cuirasses.

Fragment of Horsemen and Horses.

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3. Another, representing the same subject.

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3. *Ditto* *Ditto* *Ditto.*
4. *Ditto* *Ditto* *Ditto.*
5. *Ditto* *Ditto* *Ditto.*
6. *Ditto* *Ditto* *Ditto.*
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4. *One Ditto Ditto.*
5. *One Ditto Ditto.*
6. *One Ditto Ditto.*
7. *One Ditto Ditto.*
8. *One Ditto Ditto.*
9. *One Ditto Ditto.*
10. *One Ditto Ditto.*
11. *One Ditto Ditto.*
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[*Also the* MOULDS *of the above*]

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5. *A Series of Drawings and Plans of ancient Remains in many parts of Greece, taken in the year* 1802.

ADDENDA.

One Lyre in Cedar wood; and,
Two Flutes of the same material: found during the excavations among the tombs in the neighbourhood of Athens.

LETTER

FROM THE

CHEVALIER CANOVA

TO THE

EARL OF ELGIN.

London, 10th November, 1815.

ALLOW me, my LORD, to express to you the lively sentiments of pleasure which I feel, from having seen in London the inestimable antique marbles brought by your Lordship from Greece. I can never satisfy myself with viewing them again and again; and although my stay in this great metropolis must of necessity be extremely short, I am still anxious to dedicate every leisure moment to the contemplation of these celebrated relics of ancient art. I admire in them the truth of nature combined with the choice of beautiful forms:

every thing about them breathes animation, with a singular truth of expression, and with a degree of skill which is the more exquisite, as it is without the least affectation of the pomp of art, which is concealed with admirable address. The naked figures are real flesh, in its native beauty. I esteem myself happy in having been able to see these masterpieces with my own eyes; and I should be perfectly contented with having come to London on their account alone. I am persuaded therefore that all artists and amateurs must gratefully acknowledge their high obligations to your Lordship, for having brought these memorable and stupendous sculptures into our neighbourhood. For my own part I give you most cordially a thousand thanks; and,

I have the honour to be,

&c. &c. &c.

CANOVA.

MEMOIR

ON THE

SCULPTURES OF THE PARTHENON.

§ 1. GENERAL OBSERVATIONS.

THE most celebrated collections of Europe contain scarcely any of those monuments of sculpture, of which the classic authors have given us an account, as being in general estimation among the ancients.

I believe the Laocoon is the only exception that can be made to this remark. Some ingenious conjectures have, indeed, enabled us to identify the copies of a small number of masterpieces of the great

statuaries; but the hope of seeing the originals appeared to be lost for ever.

But in viewing the marbles which the Earl of Elgin has removed from Athens to London, the connoisseur is perfectly certain that he is contemplating a variety of those valuable works, which, having been imagined and directed by Phidias, and even executed in part by his chisel, were for more than seven hundred years the admiration of the ancient world; and which, in the time of Plutarch, that is, in the age of Trajan, were regarded as inimitable for their grace and their beauty; μορφῆ δ' ἀμίμητα ἔργα καὶ χαριτι.*

In fact, from the testimony of this historian, we cannot doubt that the sculptures which adorned the Parthenon were the productions of this celebrated artist, to whom Pericles had chiefly confided the execution of these sublime works, and under whom a number of other artists of

* Plut. Pericl. § 13.

extraordinary merit also exercised their talents; such as Agoracritus, Alcamenes, and Colotes.

Pausanias, in his description of the Parthenon of Athens, unites the account of the sculptures which adorn the tympans of the two pediments of the temple, with that of the colossal Minerva of ivory and gold, without mentioning the artist, because he supposes him universally known.*

If it were imagined that Phidias devoted himself exclusively to the *toreutic* art, and that he employed in his works only ivory and metals, this opinion would be confuted by Aristotle, who distinguishes this great artist by the appellation of σοφος λιθουργος, *a skilful sculptor of marble*, in opposition to Polycletus, whom he calls simply a statuary, ἀνδριαντοποιον, since this latter artist scarcely ever employed his talents except in bronze.† In fact, several marble statues of Phidias were known to Pliny, who might even

* L. 1. c. 24. † Ethic Nicom. L. 6. c. 7.

have seen some of them in Rome, since they had been removed to this city: and the most famous work of Alcamenes, the Venus of the Gardens, had only, as it was said, acquired so high a degree of perfection, because Phidias, his master, had himself taken pleasure in finishing with his own hand this beautiful statue of marble.*

When we read, in Winckelmann's History of Art,† that the fine style in statuary only commenced under Praxitcles, and that the method of managing draperies in sculpture, before his time, was very simple, we might easily form too unfavourable an idea of the masterpieces of Phidias, although in reality the same antiquarian, on another occasion, in attributing sublimity of style to this artist,‡ seems to have done justice to his transcendent merit.

* Pliny, H. N. L. 36. § 4. n. 3.

† Winckelmann, *Storia delle Arti*, L. 8. c. 2. § 6. and c. 3. § 2.; L. 9. c. 2. § 20. and c. 3. § 17. of the Italian translation, Rome 1783, 4to.

‡ Winckelmann, Ib. L. 8. c. 2. pr.; L. 9. c. 2. § 8.

A sight of the collection of Lord Elgin is calculated to give us a greater and more complete idea of his talents, which is also more conformable to the testimonies of ancient authors, who had admired his works, as exhibiting the greatest possible perfection of the art: *nothing is more perfect*, says Cicero, *than the statues of Phidias ;* his figures*, he adds elsewhere,† enchant the spectator at the first glance. According to Demetrius Phalereus, a contemporary of Praxiteles, the magnificent style was united, in the works of Phidias, to the most exquisite delicacy : το μεγαλειον και ακριβες αμα.‡

* Orator, § 2. Phidiae simulacris nihil perfectius.

† Brutus, § 64. Phidiae signum simul adspectum et probatum est.

‡ De elocut. § 14. Pliny has done homage to the same qualities in Phidias by the following expressions: *So much has been said cursorily respecting an artist who can never be sufficiently praised, in order that it may be understood, that his magnificent genius extended its influence even to the smallest parts of his works.* Hæc sunt obiter dicta de artifice numquam satis laudato, simul ut noscatur illam magnificentiam æqualem fuisse et in parvis.—H. N. L. xxxvi. § 4. n. 3.

If the art of sculpture was indebted to Praxiteles for any new attractions, it was, therefore, rather in the refinements of the graceful than in that which is properly called the beautiful style. Perhaps he had given to the heads of his figures, particularly to those of his women, a more delicate and a more seductive air; but the art of the statuary had already reached the limits of its perfection in the age of Pericles.

An amateur, accustomed to the examination of the masterpieces of antiquity, will easily recognise in the detached sculptures of the Parthenon, and particularly in the parts of those statues which have been least injured by time, the grand and learned style of the Laocoon, the Torso, and the Hero in combat, called the Gladiator: the same ability in the expression of the skin, the same life, inspired, if we may use the term, into the inanimate stone, the same harmony in the proportions, and the same perfection in the union of the whole work.

In the statues of females, the grace and the dignity of the postures, the richness of the draperies, and the artful adjustment of their lines and folds, equal or surpass the most complete works of this kind which have been preserved.

The fine arrangement of the compositions of the bas reliefs, the originality and the variety of the motions represented, and the taste and meaning of the flattened figures, which appear in the sculptures forming the exterior frize of the walls of the *cella*, place these productions of art above all other bas reliefs in existence.

After these general considerations, I shall endeavour to distribute all these monuments according to their respective places, to indicate as far as possible the subjects represented by them, and to examine their peculiarities, in their relations either to the history of the art, or to literature and philology.

§ 2. Sculptures of the Tympans of the Parthenon.

Since the discovery of the statues which ornamented the pediments of the temple of Jupiter Panhellenius, in the island of Aegina, it is less surprising to find that all the figures which filled the two tympans of the Parthenon were in alto relievo and detached from one another. In fact, the terms in which Pausanias speaks of these works might have led us to conjecture that they were statues.* Spon and Wheler had described them as such;† notwithstanding this, some more recent travellers, disregarding both these testimonies, and the evi-

* L. 1. c. 24. ὁποσα ἐν τοις καλυμενοις ἀετοις KEITAI: *as many as are* PLACED *in the pediments.* Pausanias, in speaking of works of art, applies this verb only to statues.

† Spon, Voyage, T. 2. p. 83, ed. La Haye, 1724. 12; Wheler's Journey, p. 360-1.

dence of the fragments still existing, have spoken of these compositions as if they were fixed to the back ground or wall: in short, as if they were bas reliefs on a large scale.* But nobody could have supposed, before these precious fragments were taken down from their ancient situation, that they were perfectly finished on all sides, behind as well as before. This extreme care must have had some object; and I think we shall not be far from the truth, if we conjecture that these sculptures, so perfect as they were thus rendered, had been exposed to public view before they were placed in the situation which they were destined to occupy. A tradition, which Tzetzes has preserved, (Chiliad VIII. Hist. 193) may be adduced in support of this conjecture:

* Chandler's Travels, ch. x. *carved in the front pediment.* He speaks, indeed, at the end of the same chapter, of these sculptures as statues; but, notwithstanding this, the French translators of his work have construed the expression quoted still more unequivocally, *figuré* en bas-relief.

he speaks of two figures of Minerva, the one the work of Phidias, the other of Alcamenes, his pupil. The master, in executing his figure, had calculated the effect for the height at which it was to be placed; the mouth and the eyes were more excavated than would be correct in a figure intended for close inspection; while the pupil had followed a different method. His Minerva, however, which had been preferred during its exhibition to that of Phidias, being removed to its proper place, lost a great part of its attractions; its forms, at a certain distance, appeared indistinct, and the whole effect was feeble; that of Phidias, on the contrary, when placed in its destined situation, obtained universal approbation. It was usual, therefore, to exhibit to the public, for close inspection, the statues which were intended to be placed at a certain height. The perfect finish of the figures in question must probably be attributed to this custom;

and, besides, the interior part of the tympans may very possibly have been accessible.*

Another peculiarity, which is remarkable in these sculptures, as well as in the bas reliefs of the metopes, and even in those of the exterior frize of the *cella*, is this, that a great number of appendages, arms, buckles, clasps, utensils, ornaments of the head, and other similar parts, were of bronze, and without doubt gilt, though the figures are of white marble. A great number of holes and grooves, cut in the parts which must have answered to the place of these appendages, exhibit traces of their existence, and even contain some remains of them.

The union of gold with white marble and ivory was much admired by the ancients. Virgil has expressed, in the first

* In the ground plan of the Parthenon some vestiges of a circular staircase have been discovered, and this must have led to the summit of the temple.

book of the Eneid (v. 592), the agreeable impression made on the sight by the judicious mixture of these materials:

> Quale manus addunt ebori decus, aut ubi flavo
> Argentum Pariusve lapis circundatur auro.
>
> Like polished ivory, beauteous to behold,
> Or Parian marble, when enchased in gold.
>
> DRYDEN.

This manner of embellishing sculpture has been but rarely imitated by the moderns; who, neglecting the testimony of experience, and reasoning upon abstract principles, have even ventured to censure it. Mr. Quatremère de Quincy has successfully defended the method of the Greeks, which was that of all antiquity, in the excellent work which he has lately published, on the polychromatic sculpture of the ancients.

WESTERN TYMPAN.

The sculptures which ornamented the western pediment of the temple had been in some measure respected by time, until the period of the attack of Athens by the Venetians in 1687. Spon and Wheler were able to admire the fine arrangement of almost the whole composition, and the Marquis of Nointel had procured drawings of it, which are fortunately preserved in the King's Library at Paris. Without the assistance of these drawings we should have been unable to form any tolerably adequate idea of this grand composition and of its subject. The attempts of Spon, Le Roi, and after them of J. Stuart, to restore it, being founded on prejudice and error, have served only to distort it, and to render it unintelligible.*

* Stuart's *Antiquities of Athens*, vol. ii. c. 1. pl. iii.; Le Roi Ruines de la Grèce tom. i. pl. 20. [See also

Pausanias had told us, that the subject of the sculptures, which filled the tympans of the front, was the birth of Minerva; and that the subject of those which ornamented the back pediment was the dispute of that goddess with Neptune for the possession of Attica. It was thought unquestionable by travellers, that the front of the temple was turned to the Propylæa, that is, to the west, and they inferred from this conception, that the figures, placed in the tympan which fronts the west, must be those which, according to the description of Pausanias, represented the birth of Minerva, proceeding from the head of Jupiter. What they saw, however, was not easily reconciled with this idea; but they forced the description of the ancient traveller to accommodate itself to the sculptures remaining: they accused him of want of accuracy, and they contrived restora-

Nointel's drawings in the additional volume of Stuart's Athens, lately published.]

tions of the work, which were intended to reconcile the striking contradictions, that arose from the comparison of the edifice with the description.

Stuart, however, more exact than any of his predecessors, had discovered that the entrance, and consequently the front of the Parthenon, were turned towards the east, and he had even brought this fact to a perfect demonstration ;* but he had not drawn the necessary inference from it, that the sculptures of the west tympan must have represented, not the birth of Minerva, but her contest with Neptune.

This inference, so natural, and so self evident, has been fully confirmed by the examination of the drawings, which remain, of the whole composition, and of the sculptures which crowned the west front of the temple. This examination is the work of Mr. Quatremère, whom I have just quoted, and the Academy, upon the

* Loc. cit. p. 14.

reading of the Memoir communicated by him, together with the exhibition of a bas-relief modelled in a masterly manner, and restored according to the drawings of Nointel, was convinced that the subject of the sculptures of the west pediment of the temple must have been the dispute of Neptune and Minerva, and the triumph of the goddess. This opinion deserves so much the more attention, as one of our colleagues, Mr. Barbié du Bocage, had adduced some very learned and ingenious objections against the opinion of Stuart respecting the entrance of the temple, and the consequences which were deduced from it.*

One of the difficulties, which impeded the adoption of this opinion, although its evidence was undeniable, was derived from the situation of the temple, of which the entrance was on the side opposite to the

* See a note added to the French translation of Stuart, tom. ii. p. 15.

Propylæa, that magnificent vestibule of the Acropolis, which, as well as the Parthenon, is a monument of the munificence of Pericles. I imagine I have discovered the motive for this arrangement, which appears somewhat strange at first sight. The Propylæa could only be built at the place where the rock of the Acropolis afforded a natural ascent,* and was not already covered with other edifices. The situation of the Propylæa then was prescribed by necessity. The position of the temple and of its entrance was also regulated by principles of religion, which could not be neglected. The Athenian temples, according to the ancient laws, venerated by all the inhabitants, were required to be turned to the east. The

* Pausanias, L. 1. c. 22. Ἐς δὲ τὴν Ἀκροπολιν ἐστιν εἰσοδος μια· ἑτεραν δε οὐ παρεχεται, πασα ἀποτομος οὐσα, και τειχος ἐχουσα ἐχυρον. *There is but one entrance into the Acropolis: it affords no other, being a complete precipice, and being furnished with a strong wall.*

architects of the Parthenon avoided the inconvenience arising from these circumstances, by making the temple *amphiprostylous*, or with two similar fronts, the one to the east, which led to the temple, the other to the west, which was turned to the Propylæa, and led to the *opisthodomos.**

With respect to the religious law which directed that the opening of the temples should be towards the east, it must have been the more rigorously observed at Athens, as the Greek nations who were derived from a different origin followed a rule exactly opposite.

Plutarch, in the life of Numa, says expressly, that the ancient *temples were turned to the east*, (§ 14.) προς εω των ιερων βλεποντων. This rule is not altogether without exception, but it is still sufficient to

* This name was given to a chamber behind the *Cella*, in which it was usual to keep the public treasure, and the valuable articles belonging to the temple.

confirm the existence of the ancient usage followed by the Athenians. Not only the Parthenon, but all their temples with which we are acquainted, open to the east. That of Neptune and Erechtheus on the Acropolis, that of Theseus in the plain, in short, even the little temple built on the borders of the Ilissus, all have their fronts to the east. From this situation of the temples it followed, that the people praying to the gods, and looking towards their temples, must always have turned to the west. Hence arose the custom among the Athenians, of burying their dead as if they were looking to the west, that is to say, turned in the same manner as they had been during their lives, when they addressed their prayers to the gods. This custom served Solon as a proof that the ancient possessors of the island of Salamis, occupied in his time by the Dorians of Megara, had been Athenians; he caused the ancient tombs to be opened, and the dead bodies contained in them were found turned to-

wards the west, and not towards the east, as was the custom observed at Megara. This is what the "sage of Athens" had expressed in verse;

Οἱ φθιμενοι δερκονται [ἐς] ἡελιον δυνοντα.
The dead are turned towards the setting sun:

and what Plutarch has repeated in prose, (*Solon*, §. 10.) θαπτουσι [δε] Μεγαρεις προς ἑω τους νεκρους στρεφοντες, Ἀθηναιοι δε προς ἑσπεραν: *at Megara the dead are buried with their faces turned to the east; at Athens to the west.*

We may conclude from this fact that the contrary precept given by Vitruvius, (L. 4. c. 5.); *signum quod erit in cella spectet vespertinam coeli regionem ... ut qui adierint ad aram ... spectent ad partem coeli orientis, et simulacrum quod erit in aede: That the statue in the Cella should be turned towards the west, in order that persons approaching the altar should look towards the east, and at the same time towards the image in the temple*: that this precept, I say, was applicable to the

rites of the Megarians and of the Doric nations to which the Romans seem to have belonged, and that consequently the Athenians must have been so much the more zealous in following the contrary custom, as it was connected with their earliest origin, and distinguished them from the other nations of Greece, and principally from those who were derived from the Dorian race, such as the Megarians, and the Lacedaemonians, with whom Athens was the most frequently at war.*

Although the ideas and the facts, which I have here developed, leave no doubt whatever respecting the subject of the sculptures which Phidias had placed on the western pediment of the temple, the lovers of antiquity will still see with pleasure, that all the fragments taken from this pediment confirm the opinion which has

* The disposition of the Athenian temples was in this respect the same as that of the tabernacle of Moses, and of the temple of Solomon. Exod. ch. 26, 27.

been stated, and illustrate several of the details of it.

No. 1. This fragment is the upper part of the torso of the figure of Neptune, which is the principal one of the whole composition. In the time of Spon and Wheler it was almost entire. Its majestic head, which is now destroyed, might have been taken for that of Jupiter. The prejudice, of which we have already spoken, had caused this colossal statue to be mistaken for that of the father of Minerva. Mr. Quatremère de Quincy, in the Memoir which we have quoted, was the first to recognise it as a Neptune. The god, who by a stroke with his trident had caused a stream of sea water to spring from the dry rock, seems to be retiring, astonished and conquered by the prodigy which has just been exhibited by the goddess his rival, who by striking the earth with her spear has caused it to produce an olive tree.

The remains of the figure enable us to estimate its whole height at twelve English feet; the style of the sculpture is truly sublime: in the parts which have suffered the least injury, the surface of the marble expresses the flexibility of the flesh; and some veins seem to be distended beneath the skin. The suppression of the appearance of these vessels, in figures of a firm and muscular character, when they represent divinities, is therefore an innovation which characterizes the manner of a later age. Perhaps the method was introduced by Praxiteles. In fact, the veins do not appear in the torso of Apollonius, which represented Hercules deified: and this Athenian artist flourished about the end of the seventh century of Rome.*

The fine Pentelic marble, of which it is formed, is subject to weather, when it is exposed for ages to the vicissitudes of the atmosphere. The sculptures placed in the tympans of the Parthenon could not be

* Museo Pio-Clementino, VII. p. 97.

sufficiently sheltered by the projection of the pediment: the salt effluvia of the sea may also have contributed to the deterioration of their surfaces. The combination of these causes explains, in a manner sufficiently probable, why the back is in better preservation than the anterior part of the chest. The injuries of time, which have destroyed many of the minuter beauties of the work, have not been able to impair the fine effect of the whole.

The *chest of Neptune*, distinguished by Homer* as the most imposing part of his form, is still admirable in the work of Phidias.

No. 2. Minerva, having been victorious in the dispute, appears by her attitude disposed to resume her place in her chariot. I had recognised her in the drawing of Nointel, principally by her Aegis, which descends in the form of a scarf from her right shoulder, and of which the circum-

* Il. b. 2. v. 479. Στερνον δε Ποσειδαωνι.

ference is notched, so as to form prominent angles at equal distances, as is usual in the finest statues of this goddess. Mr. Quatremère was of another opinion: he thought that he discovered in this figure the victory that was going to crown the daughter of Jupiter. His conjecture was supported by the description of Spon, but was contradicted by the drawing: at present the colossal fragment of the statue of Minerva has decided the question: the Aegis cannot be mistaken; each point of its angles is pierced by a hole intended to receive, in gilt bronze, the precious drops or fringes which, according to the description of Homer, ornamented this piece of armour:* the same poet tells us, that the head of the Gorgon was attached to the middle of the Aegis;† and in the middle of the Aegis we still find a hole, by which this attribute was fixed to it. The proportions of this draped fragment are

* Il. b. 2. v. 448. †Il. b. 5. v. 741.

nearly the same with that of the Neptune. These two principal figures, which occupy the centre of the composition, and consequently the most elevated part of the pediment, must have been taller than the rest; and what leaves no manner of doubt relative to the figure of Minerva, the half mask of the goddess was found on the floor of the same pediment; its eyes having been excavated, in order for the insertion of globes of more costly materials, as Phidias himself had done in the colossal statue of the goddess placed in the temple: and a furrow, which forms the limit of the forehead, shows the line of contact with the helmet of gilt bronze, which covered the head.

No. 3. The third figure, as far as can be judged from the fragment which remains, consisting of the torso and a part of the thigh, was that of Victoria Apteros, *(without wings)* who drove the chariot of the

goddess, and who seemed to approach her in order to receive her in it. Her proportions are scarcely less than those of the two principal figures of Neptune and Minerva; but though placed on a car, her head was less elevated than those of the former, because of the posture of her body, which is a little bent. The same attitude is also remarked in another figure of Victory, introduced in the frize of the Parthenon, and driving a car, as well as this figure. It is engraved in the 20th plate of the first chapter of the second volume of the Antiquities of Athens by Stuart: the original is at present in Lord Elgin's collection. These two figures not only resemble each other in attitude and in situation, but both of them are remarkable for a broad belt which confines the tunic. This drapery seems to adhere to the body, and shows all its forms. The belt is found on many other figures of Victory.*

* Bonarroti Medaglioni, p. 67, 328

If Phidias has not given wings to this statue, as he did to another of the same goddess which was placed on the eastern pediment, it is because he here wished to represent the Victory without wings, who was worshipped at the entrance of the Acropolis, and which was probably an emblem or an omen of the duration, and the stability, which the prayers of the people and of Pericles wished to ensure to the power of their country.

No. 4. The fourth figure of this pediment, that which occupied the left angle, is, in my opinion, the most admirable of the whole collection. I apprehend that it represents the Ilissus, the god of the little river which runs along the south side of the plain of Athens. As the subject of the composition is the dispute for the territory of Attica, the river which waters it is not foreign to this subject. It is thus that the Alpheus and the Cladeus, rivers of Elis,

occupied the angles of the principal tympan of the temple of Olympia.* This personage, half reclined, seems, by a sudden movement, to raise himself with impetuosity, being overcome with joy at the agreeable news of the victory of Minerva. The momentary attitude, which this motion occasions, is one of the boldest and most difficult to be expressed that can possibly be imagined. He is represented at the instant when the whole weight of his body is going to be supported by the left hand and arm, which press strongly on the earth, on which the left foot also rests. This motion causes the whole figure to appear animated; it seems to have a life which is found in very few works of art. The illusion is still more strengthened by the perfect expression of the skin, which, in several parts of this statue, thanks to its situation and position, has been better preserved than any of the

* Pausanias, b. 5. c. 10. n. 2.

others, and which one would be tempted to call perfectly flexible and elastic. If the fragment of a head, with its hair in disorder and bound with a cord or *strophium*, could, as a great artist supposes, be fitted to this statue,* there would not, perhaps, be a more striking work among all the remains of Grecian sculpture.

Before we take a view of the right side of this tympan, as it is represented in the drawing of Nointel, it will be proper to remark, that the two figures sitting on the earth, and formerly placed near the Ilissus, which Spon has mistaken for those of Adrian and Sabina, immediately followed the figure which we have just examined; and they have remained in their proper places. According to the drawing† already mentioned, I conceive that they represented Vulcan and Venus. I consider this

* This head, which is in the collection, agrees perfectly in its proportions with the figure in question.

† These figures are also engraved in in Stuart, pl. 9. vol. 2. ch. 1.

god of artists as distinguished by his cap, which is his proper characteristic: his round beard was probably the cause of Spon's mistaking him for Adrian, whose features have besides a great resemblance to those of ideal personages. Venus I recognise by another character which is found in all her figures when they are draped: this is the opening of the tunic towards the left shoulder, so as to show the bosom. I had long since remarked this distinction, and I have spoken of it more at large on another occasion, from the authority of Apollonius Rhodius, and from the comparison of a great number of monuments of every kind.*

With respect to the restoration of the sculptures of the Parthenon, which is supposed by some to have taken place under Adrian, besides the want of all authority for the opinion, it is supported by nothing like probability. Not only the silence of

* Museo Pio-Clementino, t. 3. p. 9, 78.

Pausanias seems to refute it, but the testimony of Plutarch even excludes its possibility. In his time, and he was a contemporary of Adrian, these works of Phidias *had still all the splendour and all the freshness of novelty: ἀκμὴ δὲ ἕκαστον ἔτι νυν προσφατον ἐστι, και νεουργον.**

The left side of the tympan contained, as far as I can conjecture, the mythological personages supposed to be favourable to Minerva: on the other side were the representations of all those who were in the interests of Neptune; Amphitrite borne on her dolphin, Palæmon, Leucothea, and Latona, distinguished by the two children who are on her knees; a group of which a fragment still exists in Lord Elgin's collection. Latona and her children having taken the same side with Neptune in the Iliad, the authority of Homer had without doubt induced Phidias to represent these

* Pericles, § 13. Stuart has made nearly the same remark.

divinities as taking part with the rival of Minerva.

No. 5. The torso of a god or a hero, of which the back only is covered with a drapery, belonged to one of the groups of this pediment; but as there remains no symbol to determine his character, it is impossible to ascertain either the place that he occupied, or the personage that he represented. If this fragment was a part of the figure which is seen in the drawings of Nointel, near the car of the goddess, we might conjecture that the statue represented Cecrops, the native hero of the Athenians, whom they revered as a god, and who had borne witness, before the assembly of the divinities, to the prodigy wrought by Minerva.*

With respect to the merit of this fragment, I must observe, that although the fore part of the body has suffered mate-

* Apollodorus, b. 3. c. 14.

rially, we may still observe in it the traces of that noble and grand style which was the unfailing stamp of the works of Phidias.*

EASTERN TYMPAN.

The middle part of the composition was not in existence at the period when the Marquis of Nointel procured his drawings of these invaluable relics: and all the remainder is at present in the collection of the Earl of Elgin.

No. 1. Beginning from the left of the spectator, the first object that we remark is the upper part of the figure of Hyperion† rising out of the waves of the sea, with his car, which brings back the day. The plinth represents the waves: they are

* Το σεμνον και μεγαλοτεχνον και ἀξιωματικον. Dionysius Halicarnassensis de Isocrate, p. 95. Edit. Sylburg. *The lofty and magnificent and dignified.*

† *Progenies Chiae clara.* Catullus, Coma Berenices, v. 44. *The splendid offspring of Chia,* [or rather *Thia,* whom Apollodorus makes the mother of Aurora.]

executed with care, although they must have been invisible, except to the curious who ascended into the tympan. The head of this Titan is broken off: there remains a part of the neck and the shoulders: his arms, which are elevated and muscular, but without hands, are in the attitude of holding with some effort the reins of the four impetuous coursers harnessed to his car. This fragment, which possesses great breadth and dignity of execution, may be compared, for the grandeur of the style, to the torso of Apollonius.

No. 2. The heads of the two horses which rise from the sea, in which the car of the Sun is still plunged, seem by the truth of their expression to neigh with impatience. The parts of the surface, which have not been destroyed, are executed with the greatest possible delicacy.

No. 3. The fourth piece of sculpture is

the whole figure of a young god; it only wants the hands and the feet; it is half reclined on one of the rocks of Olympus, which is covered by a lion's skin, and by a wide drapery. The whole effect of this figure, the surface of which is considerably impaired, is at first sight enchanting, on which ever side we view it, from the harmony of all its parts, the nobility of the outlines, and the grace of the attitude. The air and the lines of the countenance remind us of the young head of Hercules engraved by Gnoeas, the masterpiece of the lithoglyptic art.* It is thus that these remains of the sculptures of Phidias make us acquainted with the source, from which several celebrated artists of antiquity derived the first idea of their masterpieces which have reached us. We shall resume this remark in speaking of the bas reliefs; at present I shall observe, that this sort of agreement of the head of this figure, with

* Stosch Pierres antiques gravés, pl. 23.

that of the young Hercules which I have mentioned, adds to the probability of a conjecture, which the strong and square structure of the limbs, as well as the lion's skin, had already suggested to me: I conclude, therefore, that this personage is probably Hercules.

I know that objections may be raised against this opinion from the testimony of Pausanias, who informs us that *all the figures of this pediment related to the birth of Minerva*:* now this demi-god, the son of Alcmene, was not yet born himself, at the time of this mythological nativity; but the objection will fall to the ground, if we consider that the religion of the Greeks acknowledged another Hercules, born on the Ida of Crete, and more ancient than the Theban, more ancient even than Jupiter, whose infancy he was supposed to have protected, in common with his brothers

* B. 1. c. 24. Ὅσα ἐν τοις καλουμενοις ἄετοις κειται, ΠΑΝΤΑ [ἐς την] Ἀθηνας ἐχει γενεσιν.

the Dactyli.* This god, as well as his imitator who bore his name, had been engaged in clearing the earth of monsters: and in the allegories of the remotest ages, he had been made an emblem of the sun:† this must, without doubt, have been the motive of the sculptor for placing him in full view of the chariot which was the bearer of day. We know also, from other sources, that the Idacan Hercules had statues and altars in several cities of Greece.‡

No. 4. The following group is not less admirable: it represents two goddesses sitting by each other on separate seats. These seats are cubical, without any backs, and ornamented with some mouldings;

* Respecting this more ancient Hercules, who had taken care of Jupiter in his infancy, and who had fought for him against the giants, see Pausanias, b. 5. c. 7, and Apollodorus, b. 1. c. 6.

† Orpheus, Hymn 11.

‡ Pausanias, b. 8. c. 31. b. 11. c. 27.

instead of cushions, they are furnished with carpets folded several times, and so admirably are they imitated, that we may follow the developement of all their folds. Of these two figures, that which is on the right is less than the other, and rests her left arm with much grace on her neighbour's shoulder. The heads of these statues are lost, the rest is in pretty good preservation; the happy invention of their attitude, the elegance of their proportions, and the arrangement and execution of their draperies, leave us nothing to desire, either in point of good taste or of refinement. This colossal group was one of the most finished works of the pediment. I believe that it represented the two great goddesses, whose worship and mysteries were so celebrated in Attica, Proserpine and her mother Ceres.

No. 5. The draperies of the following figure are of a more simple composition,

but they exhibit in an admirable manner the rapid motion of the goddess, who seems to be running towards the left. The head and the arms are lost, but the remainder of the figure is sufficient to render it probable that it represents Iris.

The messenger of the gods is going to proclaim to the ends of the earth the prodigy which she has witnessed upon Olympus. The light and fluttering cloak, which is filled by the wind, and raised above her shoulders, is one of the usual attributes of this mythological personage.*

All the figures belonging to the centre of the composition, the principal of which represented Minerva in complete armour, proceeding from the head of Jupiter, had disappeared from time immemorial: it

* See in the miniatures of the Vatican Virgil the figure of Iris exciting Turnus to war, b. 9 of the Æneid; and in the bas reliefs which represent the fall of Phaëton, the figure, of which the floating drapery describes a bow above her head. (Winckelmann *Monumenti inediti*, N. 43; Maffei *Museum Veronense*, p. LXXI.)

only remains for us to examine those which filled the angle to the right, and which are in more or less perfect preservation.

No. 6. The chariot of Night, sinking into the ocean, at the same moment that that of the Sun was rising in the east, terminated the composition on this side. Euripides, the contemporary of Phidias, describing in his Ion the rich hangings of the pavilion of Delphos, supposes that the car of Night was in the middle, while the Sun was plunging into the sea on the western side, and at the opposite end Aurora was rising from the waves.*

The head of one of the horses of Night is preserved in the Collection. Those travellers, who had mistaken the entrance of

* Ion, v. 114. In some ancient bas reliefs executed at Rome, the Sun rising and the Night sinking under the horizon have been represented at the opposite ends of the same composition. See Ficoroni Roma antica, p. 115. Two medallions, placed at the sides of the Arch of Constantine, exhibit also similar subjects.

the Parthenon, supposing that the sculptures of this tympan were intended to represent the dispute between Neptune and Minerva, had fancied that they had found in this fragment the head of a sea horse.* This head is of the finest possible workmanship, and its surface has been very little injured. We observe in it that admirable expression of life, which great artists only are capable of bestowing on their imitations of nature. It is this that was admired in Martial's time, even in the fishes modelled by Phidias :—*Adde aquam, natabunt.*†

No. 7. The group immediately following is one of the most remarkable in the collection. Two goddesses are represented in it, the one sitting, the other half reclining on a rock. All that we have said respecting

* Spon, L. c. vol. 2. p. 87; Wheler, L. c, p. 361.

† B, 3. Ep. 35. Give them but water, they will swim away.

the grace of the attitudes, the art and the delicacy of the draperies, which are so much admired in the two figures of No. 4, must be applied to this group, which is, if possible, still more admirable: but unhappily it is not less mutilated than the former, both the hands and the heads being wanting.

No. 8. Before I hazard any conjecture respecting these figures, I must mention a third which was near them, as is seen in the drawing of Nointel. The merit of this figure, which has been still less spared by time, is not inferior to that of the others. We observe in the folds and the lines of the draperies, for this figure is draped, and represented a goddess: we observe, I say, that variety which gives so much pleasure to the spectator by the imitation of nature, and which announces the fertility of the genius of the artist.

These three goddesses, in my opinion,

are the Fates. They presided, according to the Greek mythology, over birth as well as over death; they were the companions of Ilithyia, the goddess of childbirth, and they sang the destinies of the new born infants.* We see, on an ancient patera, one of the Fates present at the birth of Bacchus, who is produced from the thigh of Jupiter, as Minerva is imagined to have been from his head.†

The half reclining figure, representing one of the Fates, affords, if we may so express it, the companion to the Hercules of the left side. We have remarked the relations which this god bore to the Sun; and the Fates were the daughters of Night.

No. 9. A goddess of the family of the Titans, like Iris, and like her, light in her

* Homer's Odyssey, b. 8. v. 198. Pindar's Olymp. Od. 5. v. 72; Nem. Od. 7. v. 1; Spanhem. ad Callimach. Hymn. Dian. v. 22.

† See, in my work on the Museo Pio-Clementino, plate B, (marked by the engraver's mistake A) p. 99.

form, Victory, the Nice of the Greeks, occupied the corresponding place on this side. This figure does not appear in the drawings of Nointel, but it has been found thrown down on the floor of the pediment. The torso, for the rest is lost, has an expression of action which cannot be mistaken; her draperies and her girdle have a remarkable resemblance to the girdle and the tunic of the Victory without wings, who leads the car of Minerva in the western pediment. But the characteristic emblem of the figure which we are examining has not entirely disappeared: the holes in which the wings of gilt bronze were to be fixed, are still observable. Victory has seen the birth of the warrior virgin who was to be her inseparable companion, and she is starting up in an excess of joy.

Here, then, we have fourteen specimens of sculpture in alto relievo, completely finished on all sides, taken from one of the most celebrated compositions of Phidias,

all perhaps the works of his hands, and certainly all at least conceived and directed by him, which have been saved from the approaching destruction, that a very well informed traveller had foretold as impending over them.* In their new situation, in the midst of an enlightened nation, particularly disposed to afford encouragement to sculpture, they will rouse the talents of the young artist to exertion, and will direct him in the road which leads to perfection in his art. We have only to regret that the noble idea, which induced Lord Elgin to rescue them from the daily ravages of a barbarous nation, was not entertained a century and a half earlier by some rich and powerful amateur.

* Chandler's Travels in Greece, c. 10. p. 50. It is to be regretted that so much admirable sculpture, as is still extant about this fabric, should be all likely to perish, as it were, immediately, from ignorant contempt and brutal violence. Numerous carved stones have disappeared; and many lying in ruinous heaps moved our indignation at the barbarism daily exercised in defacing them.

§ 3. Exterior Frize of the Cella.

One of the richest ornaments, with which Phidias had embellished the outside of the temple, was, without doubt, that uninterrupted series of bas reliefs which was erected round the *Cella*, at the height of the frize of the Pronaos, immediately below the ceiling of the porticos.* This situation, affording to the work only a light which may be called secondary, since it only arrived after passing through the intercolumniations of the order, has prescribed to Phidias the manner in which he has executed his figures.

In order to avoid the shadows which a projecting object might have thrown on another, instead of raising the figures from the back ground by a prominence amounting nearly to half their natural thickness, he has only allotted to them a small part

* See Stuart's Athens, vol. 2. ch. 1. pl. 4, 6.

of this relief, although he has arranged them on two distinct surfaces. The order and judgment with which the whole work has been executed, and the skilful harmony with which the artist has proportioned the prominences of each object, do not allow us to feel the want of roundness and relief of the figures, which are distinctly perceived, even at a distance, without any shadow that might render the details of their forms less observable. The genius of Phidias has found means to preserve in his subject, notwithstanding the immense extent of the space which he had to fill, a perfect unity and an exact agreement. He has represented, round the temple, the march of a sacred procession. Since these marches or processions were composed of persons of every age and sex, since men on horseback were admitted, and victims were led along in them; a subject of this kind afforded to an artist all the variety that he could desire for the

display of his talents: and since these processions had been instituted in honour of the gods, the poetical imagination of Phidias seized this idea, in order to ennoble his composition still more by the representation of their images. The processions moved on to the temples which they surrounded,* singing hymns, and accompanied by the harmonious sounds of religious music; nothing, therefore, could be more proper to be represented on the walls of the Parthenon of Minerva than this solemn procession, which at the time of the great Panathenaea, at the end of every four years, marched towards this temple, carrying with it the sacred veil or *peplum*, which was to be suspended before the goddess.†

* Xenophon de magistr. eq. c. 3; Heliodor. Aethiop. b. 1. p. 18. Ed. Bourdelot.

† Meursius Panathenaea, c. 17. in the 7th volume of Gronovius's Thesaurus; Barthelemy Voyage d'Anacharsis, ch. 24.

EASTERN FRIZE.*

No. 1 and 2. The part of the frize that was seen above the great eastern gate, which constituted the principal entrance of the temple, offers to the spectator five figures, which are sufficient to determine the subject of this grand composition. No. 1. We see on the left a priestess,† probably the queen‡ or the wife of the Archon, who, having the superintendance of the religious rites and solemnities, took the name of *reigning Archon*. This priestess is in the act of receiving from two Canephori, or bearers of the sacred baskets, the articles serving for the rites of the

* Stuart's Athens, vol. 2. ch. 1. pl. 22 . . 26, 30. C.

† Stuart, vol. 2. ch. 1. pl. 24, 30. C.

‡ See the authorities adduced by Potter, Archaeologia Graeca, b. 1. c. 12. We might also recognise in this figure one of the two principal priestesses of Minerva, perhaps the one who was called Κοσμω *(Cosmo)*, a name derived from the *arrangement* of the sacred articles intrusted to her care. Meursius Lect. Atticae. b. 4. ch. 11.

sacrifice, which they are bearing on their heads, and which are covered with a veil.* One of the Canephori has a torch in her hand; the other a scroll unrolled, on which is supposed to be written the hymn to Minerva, which these virgins sang in their religious processions. We find also on other monuments of sculpture Canephori having rolls in their hands.† And I ima-

* These round and *wide baskets*, *Lata canistra*, as Ovid calls them, (Fast. II. v. 650.) were frequently used in the Grecian ceremonies, as we may convince ourselves by the inspection of a variety of remains of ancient art, and among others by that of the terra cotta published by Winckelman, Monum. ined. N. 182. I do not think it necessary to seek for the explanation of these figures in the mysterious Canephori of Minerva Polias, of which Pausanias speaks, L. I. c. 27. The Scholiast on Aristophanes, Pax, v. 948, tells us the nature of the articles contained in these baskets.

† Such was a Canephorus of the *Villa Negroni* in Rome, the companion of that which has been removed to the British Museum, in the collection of Mr. Townley. These statues represent Canephori of Bacchus: the canisters which they carried on their heads were in the form of vases, and were of gold or silver; the figures themselves were richly ornamented. See Spanhem. ad Callim. Hymn. in Cer. v. 128. p. 733, 734.

gine that the name of *Prosodes* (προσοδοι), which was given to certain hymns, was derived from the custom of singing them *on the way* (ἐν ὁδῳ) to the temples of the gods. The ancient authors have not neglected to remark this custom in the procession of the Panathenaea;* and they inform us that the Canephori were chosen from among the virgins born of the most noble families.†

No. 2. On the right of the spectator, and on the left of the priestess, is a person covered with an ample drapery, who is perhaps the reigning Archon ;‡ he is receiving from the hands of a *young man*, (ἔφηβος) *ephebus*, a great piece of cloth,

The caryatid Canephori of the *Villa Albani* in Rome, the work of Criton and Nicolaüs, both Athenians, are imitations of the same models.

* Heliodor. Aethiop. b. 1. p. 18.

† Hesychius and Harpocration, in Κανηφοροι.

‡ This Archon (Βασιλευς, *king*), according to the Scholiast on Aristophanes, Acharn. v. 1222, had the superintendance of the sacred processions and sacrifices.

folded in a square form, its numerous thicknesses resembling the leaves of a book.* In this piece of cloth I apprehend that I recognise the *peplum*, the great veil embroidered with historical subjects, which was only renewed at the epoch of the great Panathenaea, and which was carried from the Ceramicus to the temple of the Pythian Apollo, suspended to the mast of a vessel, which by means of secret mechanism was made to slide on the way, and constituted the principal ornament of the procession.†

When the procession had arrived at

* Stuart, pl. 23, 30.

† Meursius Panathen. c. 17, 19. I shall take this opportunity of correcting a passage of Philostratus (Vita Sophist. b. 2. Herodes, §5.) which relates to this ceremony: it is there said of this *ship* (ναυς) that it *glided on subterrancous machines*: ὑπογαιοις μηχαναις ὑπολισθαινουσαν. We must clearly read ἐπιγειοις, "*sliding*" *on the ground*. In this manner the relation of Philostratus may be reconciled to that of Heliodorus (Aethiop. loc. cit.) ναυς ἐπι γης πεμπειν; *conducting ships on dry land*; to the Scholiast of Aristophanes, Pax. v. 418: ναυς ἐπι γης πλει, *a ship sailing on land*, and to common sense.

the appointed place, the *peplum* was detached from the mast, and carried, without doubt folded up, into the temple, where it was substituted for the former *peplum*, which for four years had served as a curtain before the colossal statue of the goddess.

The young Athenian has no other garment than a chlamys: these chlamydes, according to the testimony of the ancient authors, as far down as the time of Herodes Atticus, that is, in the age of the Antonines, were black.*

No. 1. On each side of the two groups, which we have described, and which occupied the centre of the composition, we see six seats, making twelve in the whole, on which are seated various divinities and deified heroes. The god placed on the seat which is nearest to the Canephori, and most ornamented, is doubtless

* Philostratus, loc. cit.

Jupiter.* The seat is properly a throne, of which the arms are supported by winged sphinges, as in the throne of Olympia, and other seats of the statues of Jupiter.† The outlines of the beard and the form of the drapery are similar to these which are remarked in other images of the king of the gods.‡ Close to him is seated a goddess, whose head is covered with a veil, which she appears to be arranging with both her hands, in an attitude full of grace. We should suppose her intended for Juno, if we did not observe behind her seat the figure of a winged Victory, which informs us that the goddess sitting in it is Minerva, the daughter of Jupiter, who shares all the

* Stuart, pl. 24, 30.

† Admiranda, tab. 28; Zoega, Bassirilievi di Roma, T. I. v. I.

‡ The enormous projection of the sole of the shoe of the left foot of this figure (Stuart, pl. 24) had suggested the opinion that it might represent Vulcan. Now that we have the original marble under our eyes, we may convince ourselves that this supposed sole or sandal is only the lower margin of the frize, which is broken at this part.

honours of her father,* and who occupies the first place after him. She is not here in the habit of a warrior; it is the peaceful Minerva, the goddess of knowledge, such as I have observed her elsewhere on other monuments of Grecian art.†

No. 3 and 4. On the left of the spectator, four other seats, equally simple and of the same form, follow that of Minerva;‡ on the first is seated a young god, who, with his hands clasped in each other, is raising his right knee as if to place it on the other. We observe the same attitude in the reposing Mars of the *Villa Ludovisi* in Rome.§

The resemblance of the posture of several of the figures of the Parthenon to that

* Callimachus Hymn. in Lav. Pallad. v. 133: Aristides in Minerv. p. 10. Ed. Jebb; Horace Carm. b. 1, ode 12, v. 19.

† Museo Pio-Clementino, v. 5. pl. 26.

‡ Stuart, pl. 25, 30. C.

§ Maffei *Statue di Roma*, pl. 66, 67.

of several celebrated antique statues, which are still in existence, demonstrates the admiration in which these works of Phidias were held throughout the schools of Greece, and exhibits to us the spirit of imitation which pervaded these schools, by means of which the artists of this nation successively surpassed each other, and for six centuries never departed from the path of true beauty, either in theory or in practice. To confirm this remark, I shall point out some of the imitations to which I allude.

In the western pediment, towards the southern angle of the tympan, we observe, in the drawings of Nointel, a sitting figure which answers to the Ilissus on the opposite side, and probably represents the god of Colonus, or of some other mountain of Attica.* The posture of this statue is

* A sketch of this drawing may be found in the French translation of Stuart's work, published by Mr. Landon, vol. 2. ch. 1. pl. 15. f. 1. Neptune had a temple on the hill called Colonus Hippius, Colone, (Pausanias, b. 1. ch. 30.)

nearly the same with that of the torso of Apollonius, the Athenian, which has been so often mentioned.

On one of the Metopes we see a Centaur, with his hands tied behind his back, of which the torso and the action of the head seem to have been imitated by Aristeas and Papias in the oldest of their centaurs.*

On this same frize we find twice repeated the posture of the Jason, formerly called the Cincinnatus, of the gallery of Versailles.†

We may also trace in it that of the colossal statues of the Quirinal palace, once almost exactly similar; and a second time repeated with some slight differences.‡

It is evident, therefore, that these productions of the age of Pericles have served

* Stuart, vol. 2. ch. 1. pl. 10; Museo Capitolino, vol. 4. pl. 13.

† Stuart, vol. 2. ch. 1. pl. 30. A. Maffei *Statue di Roma*, pl. 70. See also the Musée Français, 51st Livraison.

‡ Stuart, pl. 18, 30. A; Maffei, pl. 11, 13.

as models for the later artists of the Athenian school.

But, to return to our subject; I am not disposed to believe that the figure, which resembles the Mars at rest, actually represents this god on the frize of the Parthenon. Besides the absence of the usual attributes, its place by the side of Ceres makes me rather inclined to conjecture that it is Triptolemus, the hero of Attica, dear to the goddess of Eleusis, who instructed mankind in the cultivation of corn, and contributed, as well as Bacchus, to the civilisation of barbarous nations. With respect to Ceres, it appears to me indubitable that she occupies the seat on the right of Triptolemus: her head is crowned; she is distinguished by a large torch; and I cannot possibly conceive how Stuart could be so far mistaken, as to take this figure for that of Jupiter, and the torch for a thunderbolt.*

* Stuart, pl. 25. It is easily seen, by examining the marble, that the torch had some ornaments of bronze attached to it.

No. 4. Two other young divinities occupy the two neighbouring seats;* they are seated in contrary directions; but the one which is placed opposite to Ceres turns his head to look at his brother, on whose shoulder he familiarly lays his right arm. I have said to look at his brother, for I believe that these two figures, which exactly resemble each other in every thing except their action, represent the two sons of Jupiter and Leda, the Dioscuri, or, as the Athenians named them, the *Anaces*, Castor and Pollux, who had temples at Athens.†

Turning to the right, after the young man who carries the *peplum*, we see six other seats occupied by six other divinities.

* Stuart, loc. cit.

† According to a tradition which Cicero has preserved, (de Nat. Deor. b. 3. § 21) the Dioscuri worshipped by the Athenians were three in number, and the children of Proserpine. We might have been tempted to attribute to these Dioscuri with their mother the four sitting figures; but the opinion, which I have already stated, appears to be more probable.

The two first are found in the collection; and I attribute these figures without hesitation to Aesculapius and his daughter.* The seat of the goddess of health is immediately next to the figure of the young man who carries the *peplum*: the dress of Hygica is very simple, as well as the arrangement of her hair; it consists in a tunic without sleeves, surmounted by the small *peplum*; a serpent, which is her attribute, winds round her left arm: her father sitting before her, and in the same direction, turns round to look at her, leaning on the end of a staff. His beard and his drapery resemble those of Jupiter, but his air and his attitude have less of majesty. In the drawings engraved for Stuart's work, the serpent of Hygica has been changed into a drapery: so that the characteristic of the two figures was lost.

We do not know what is become of the four following figures: they were no longer

* Stuart, pl. 23, 30. C.

in their proper places in Stuart's time, and he was not acquainted with them; but Mr. de Nointel had had them drawn, and the Count de Choiseul Gouffier found means to procure a cast of the last. From the drawings of Nointel, I conjecture that the god sitting near Aesculapius was Neptune, and that his son Theseus occupied the second place: in fact this figure is without a beard, and seems to look affectionately at the former. The two sitting figures of women, which follow, probably represent two sisters, as the group of the opposite side represents two brothers. These sisters are two daughters of Cecrops, Aglauros and Pandrosos, both honoured with temples in the Acropolis, and regarded by the Athenians as divinities.* Pandrosos has a veil on her head; and this peculiarity confirms the conjecture

* Herodotus, b. 8. ch. 53; Pausanias, b. 1. ch. 18, 27; Meursius, Cecropia, ch. 22, 28, in the 4th volume of Gronovius's Thesaurus.

which I have just advanced; for on an Athenian bas relief, published in the *Archaeographia Worsleyana*, which I have formerly seen and explained, and on which the three daughters of Cecrops are represented, together with their father; one of them only is veiled.*

A boy, naked, and having his head bound with a cord or *strophium*, is leaning on the knees of the deified heroine: this is without doubt Erechtheus, the son of Vulcan and the Earth,† intrusted by Minerva to the care of the three daughters of Cecrops, and more particularly to Pandrosos, who alone did not violate, by an indiscreet curiosity, the secret of the goddess.‡ This group, of which I have

* *Archaeographia Worsleyana*, vol. 1. p. 19, 22; where my explanation of this sculpture, written in Italian, is inserted.

† Erechtheus or Erichthonius passed for one of the founders of the Panathenaea; the festival was afterwards renewed by Theseus. Meursius *Panathenaea*, ch. 3

‡ Other mythologists supposed that Minerva had only trusted Erichthonius to two of the daughters of

now a cast before me, was in fine preservation; and it completed on this side the symmetrical arrangement of the twelve seats.

No. 4. But on the other side, opposite to the last figure, which represents one of the Dioscuri, we find on the same marble four figures of men; they are of smaller dimensions than those which represent the divinities, as might already have been observed in speaking of the figures in the centre.* This mode of representation, which may be called Homeric, since Homer has given us an example of it in his description of the shield of Achilles,† is

Cecrops, Aglauros and Pandrosos; and the artist had probably followed this tradition: (Fulgentius *Mytholog.* b. 2. ch. 14.)

* Stuart, vol. 2. ch. 1. pl 25, 26. As the divinities are sitting, and the men standing, the difference of their dimensions produces no disagreeable effect.

† Iliad, b 18. v. 519. Λαοι δ'ὑποτροπιζονες ἠσαν. *The people were of lower stature.* Gold were the gods... superior by the head. Pope.

observed on almost all the monuments which have been brought from Athens.* With respect to these four figures, they represent without doubt personages occupying the highest situations in the magistracy and the priesthood, and charged with the superintendance and direction of the solemnity. These offices belonged principally to the ten Archons; the *Nomophylaces*, or guardians of the laws;† those who were called *Kings of the Tribes*, (Φυλοβασιλεις);‡ and the *Heralds of processions* (κηρυκες περι τας πομπας).§ It is impossible at present to determine to which of these dignities and employments each of the figures represented may have belonged, either on this marble or on some others which follow it, or which correspond to it on the opposite side. Many of these figures carry wands or staves; most of them are crowned;

* *Musco Pio-Clementino*, vol. 5. p. 52. pl. 27.

† Suidas, in Νομοφυλακες.
Hesychius, in Φυλοβασιλεις.

§ Pollux Onomast. VIII. No. 103.

some of them are without beards; but the noble simplicity of their attitudes, the happy arrangements of their draperies, and the grand style of the parts without drapery, entitle them all to be classed among the most respectable works of the Grecian school.

No. 5. The next piece represents two of these personages; and after them six young women, who are advancing to the right, and beginning the march of the procession: two of these women carry candelabra.

All these figures, beginning from the two seats of Aesculapius and Hygiea, have been engraved in Stuart's work;* but with respect to the accuracy of the details, we cannot place complete confidence in these drawings, the imagination of the artist having too often supplied the objects which had been effaced by the injuries of time.

* Vol. II. ch. 1. pl. 22, 24 .. 26, 30. c.

The cap, with which one of the heads* is covered, does not appear in the original, although there are several heads bound with a fillet, an ornament which, according to the testimony of the ancients, some of the magistrates of Athens were accustomed to wear in this ceremony.†

No. 6. Six other women, walking in the same direction, and holding in their hands vases with handles, continue the order of the procession. If these vases were *water jars* (ὑδρίαι),‡ we should attribute these figures of women to strangers *domiciliated* at Athens (μετοικοι) who carried these vessels in the procession, and were called *hydriaphori*, bearers of water jars;§ but I do not consider these vases as *hydriae*; I should rather suppose them to be the *arytaenae* or

* Pl. 26.

† "Suidas in Νομοφυλακες."

‡ Meursius Panathenaea, ch. 21.

§ Aristophanes Equit. v. 1091.

praefericula, vessels which were used in making libations; and the figures seem to me to represent Athenian virgins. Neither this piece nor the two following were known to Stuart. No. 7. The first of them represents four other women, who in the time of Nointel, when the marble had suffered less, had pateras in their hands. The second is more interesting and better preserved; it is the marble which formed the angle of the frize between the east and the south sides.

No. 1 of the southern frize. The eastern side of this marble exhibits only the figure of a magistrate or director of the processions, in the same costume with those whom I have mentioned above; the southern side represents the commencement of the procession of victims; but I shall defer speaking of it until I come to the examination of this part of the frize: I must now confine myself to that of the bas

reliefs of the eastern frize, which we are considering, extending from the group of Pandrosos and Erechtheus on the left, to the angle of the *Cella* which turns to the north on the right.

No. 8 and 9. The first seven figures, executed on two tablets of marble which are fixed to each other, represent Athenian magistrates: these figures, together with those of the young women represented on the following tablets, complete the symmetrical arrangement of the bas reliefs of this part of the frize, and form in some measure companions to the figures on the left.

The bas relief which followed these is at present in the Royal Museum of Paris: it is to the Count de Choiseul Gouffier that France is indebted for it. Some young Athenian women are advancing towards the left, arranged two and two, and depositing in the hands of some personages resembling in their costume those whom I

have lately described, the instruments for the sacrifices, which they had carried in the procession. Some of them have still pateras in their hands; but there remain only some traces and marks of the fastenings of some other instruments, which were without doubt of gilt bronze, and a little more prominent.*

No. 10. The piece which exists in the Collection of Lord Elgin, representing five women walking towards the left, was the next in order. The first of these figures carries a candelabrum, the second and third are holding vases, and the last two, pateras, as well as the women represented at the opposite angle.†

Two other figures terminated on this side the sculptures of the eastern front, as

* This bas relief has been engraved in different works; among the rest in the Monumens inédits of Mr. Millin, vol. ii. p. 43.

† Stuart's Athens, vol. ii. ch. 1, pl. 22.

we see in the drawing of it which James Stuart has had engraved.*†

We observe some differences in the costume of these figures; some of them, and the smaller number, are enveloped in a large *peplum:* these I suppose to represent the Athenian matrons, who in virtue of their priesthood, or of the offices of their husbands, had the right of appearing in the procession of the Panathenaea. The others are the virgins of Attica, called by the religious rites of their country to form the finest ornament of this grand and solemn procession.†

* Stuart's Athens, vol. ii. ch. 1. pl. 22.

† The late Sir Richard Worsley had brought from Athens a bas relief, which he considered as having belonged to the frize of the Parthenon, and which represents Jupiter and Minerva, receiving the homages of a troop of Athenians, executed on a smaller scale than the figures of the two divinities: (See the first volume of the Archæographia Worsleyana, p. 1.) At that time I was of the same opinion, but at present, being better acquainted with the whole of the bas reliefs of the Parthenon, I believe that this piece of sculpture, although

NORTHERN FRIZE.*

The fragments of this frize, which Stuart has published,† show us that the train of oxen, led as victims, began, on this side, as well as on the south, the decoration of the frize, and joined the procession of women, represented on the angle of the eastern face. I shall speak of these sacrifices when I examine the bas reliefs of the south side, which are extant in the Collection. At present I shall take a view of the objects which followed the victims; and I shall begin with the two figures (No. 1.) of the *Scaphephori*.

It is well known that strangers *settled*

highly valuable, can never have formed a part of the frize which we are examining The Jupiter and Minerva of this bas relief have only the dimensions of the human figures represented on the frize, which does not exhibit any figures so small as the men in Sir Richard Worsley's fragment.

* Stuart, pl. 13, 14, 17 .. 21, 30. B.

† Pl. 21, 30. B

at Athens, where they were distinguished by the denomination of Metoeci (μετοικοι), appeared in the procession, and took part in it, as well as their wives, with the citizens of Athens; but that the offices allotted to them marked their inferiority.* They carried on their shoulders not baskets, but a kind of plates, filled with various kinds of offerings, and particularly with loaves, which on account of their form "or of their price" the Athenians called Obelias. Hence the epithet of *Obeliaphori*,† given to the Metoeci, who also bore that of Scaphephori.‡ Meursius and other learned men have supposed that this last denomination was derived from their walking in the procession with *spades* (*scaphia*, σκαφια): but Alberti, in his notes on Hesychius,§ has proved that it origi-

* Meursius, *Panathenaea*, ch. 21, 23.

† Athenaeus. b. 3. p. 111.

‡ Hesychius and Suidas in Σκαφηφοροι.

§ Loc. cit. Compare also Aristophanes, Eccles. v. 742; Equit. v. 1315.

nated from the words *scaphos* or *scaphe* (σκαφος, σκαφη), in Latin *alveolus*, a kind of trays made of wood, and sometimes of gold or silver, with raised edges, which were filled with loaves, cakes, fruits, and other articles fit for offerings. The two Metoeci are crowned, and their draperies are wrapped round them in a noble and picturesque manner.*

The valuable drawings, which we have so frequently occasion to quote, show us the *Ascophori*, or bearers of leathern bottles, who follow the *Scaphephori;* they carry the wine intended for libations: and Suidas informs us that this office was reserved for the citizens of Athens themselves.† In the same drawings of Nointel we see three players on the flute walking after them, and next to these, four performers on the lyre. Pericles, in order to give additional embellishments to the feast

* Stuart, vol. 2. ch. 1. pl. 21.

† Suidas in Ασκος Κτησιφωντος.

of the Panathenaea, had instituted prizes for music, and more particularly for these two instruments;* and Phidias had not neglected to distinguish among the bas reliefs of the temple this new ornament, which his protector and his friend had lately added to the solemnity.†

The train of persons on foot was terminated by a troop of citizens, among whom a certain number of old men were observable. These, without doubt, were the old men chosen for their noble and venerable aspect, who made part of the procession, carrying olive branches.‡ These branches, indeed, do not appear in the drawing; either because the artist could not distinguish them, or that they had been effaced by time; or possibly because these appendages had been made of bronze, and had entirely disappeared; for this part of the

* Meursius, *Panathenaea*, ch. 10.
† Plutarch in Pericl. § 13.
‡ Meursius, *Panathenaea*, ch. 20.

frize no longer exists, except in the drawing.

Here ends the procession of persons on foot; they are followed by chariots and horsemen. Horse and chariot races made a part of the solemnities of the festival, and their evolutions were called Hippodromiae, (ἱπποδρομιαι).*

The citizens of the best fortunes, who served in the cavalry, and who formed almost a distinct order in the republic, joined in the procession on horseback, and several of them with their arms.†

Those who drove chariots, and were

* Aristophanes, Pax, v. 899-90; in which the chariot races are expressly mentioned. Allusion is also made to them by the same poet in several passages of the Clouds, v. 15, 25.., 122; and by Diogenes of Babylon in Athenaeus, b. 4. p. 168, F. From these authorities we must supply the omission of Meursius, (*Panathen.* ch. 8) and Barthelemy (Anacharsis, ch. 24. p. 46) in what they have said respecting the Panathenaean races; for they seem to have been acquainted with the horse races only.

† Xenophon de Magistr. Equit. ch. 3. Thucydides, b. 6. § 56, 58.

competitors for the prizes, were obliged to be in armour, according to the institution of Theseus.* These circumstances explain, in a manner sufficiently happy, all that we see represented on the greater part of the bas reliefs, which ornament the frize on the north and south sides. With respect to the chariots, some of them are furnished with four horses, τεθριπποι *(quadrigae)*; others with three and with two, τριπωλα ἁρματα, *(trigae)*, συνωριδες, *(bigae)*.

No. 2. One of the most remarkable tablets is that in which a chariot with two horses is driven by a personification of Victory.† This is without doubt the biga which has obtained one of the prizes in the race. The Victory has no wings; but two straps which descend from her shoulder, and cross on her breast, induce us to imagine them present: these are the

* See the Scholiast on Aristophanes, Nub. v. 28.

† Stuart, pl. 10.

attachments of the wings, as if these instruments of flying could be put on and taken off at pleasure, by the celestial beings. It is thus that we sometimes find Mercury fixing the talaria on his feet. I have remarked this mode of expressing wings in several other instances: and the same straps are seen on two statues, representing Victory, which were found in Rome, and are now among the antiques of the King of Prussia.* The Victory of the frize of the Parthenon has her tunic confined by a broad belt, like that which we remarked on the statue of the same goddess driving the car of Minerva, in the western tympan of this temple.

No. 3. We also see a similar figure borne on a *triga*. This is an emblem of a victory gained in the races appropriated to this peculiar description of chariots.

* Cavaceppi, *Raccolta di Antiche Statue*, vol. 3. p. 3, 4; Museo Pio-Clementino, vol. 4. p. 81.

No. 4, 5, and 6. Three other pieces still represent chariots; one of them, with three horses, is occupied by a warrior. Stuart has published only one of these three bas reliefs.*

No. 7 to 13. The march of cavalry is represented by the seven following portions. The forms and the actions of the horses, the attitudes and the costumes of the riders, and the distribution of the figures, which is ingeniously and very naturally varied, enchant the spectator, and enable him to contemplate the repetition of so many similar objects without having his attention fatigued.

In the first place, we find in the horses the forms which Xenophon prefers, and which, of course, were generally esteemed at Athens.† Strong legs, neck elevated and arched, eye prominent, nostrils open,

* Pl. 18.

† Xenophon de re equestri, ch. 1.

ears small, loins short,* croup broad. Several of them are represented in the action praised by Xenophon for *parade horses*;† that is to say, they are prancing or making curvets, and showing by their air, according to the expression of the same writer, that they combine *a noble spirit with a vigorous body*.‡ When we examine these horsemen, we see that they represent the flower of the Athenian youths, so well proportioned are their forms, so noble and simple their attitudes. A pleasing variety pervades their costumes: some have helmets on their heads, others a Thessalian hat, which in others again is thrown behind the shoulders, and held, without doubt, by strings. Most of them have their heads uncovered, most of them are

* Xenophon explains the reason of the preference which they gave to horses whose hinder parts approached very near to the fore parts. See also Pollux, Onomasticon, [b. 1. ch. 11.]

† Ἵπποι πομπικοι. Xenoph. ch. 11. Pollux.

‡ Ch. 11. Την ψυχην μεγαλοφρονα, και το σωμα εὐρωστον.

clothed in a tunic raised above the knee; others add a chlamys to this garment. Some of the horsemen have no other dress than this, and as it is caused to float in the air by the motion of the procession, it shows their bodies almost entirely naked. The feet of most of them are without any covering; but the artist has given to several the short boots called *embatae*.* These particulars show how much liberty was allowed to the ancient artists with regard to the costumes of their figures. It is not probable that the young Athenians should have appeared in public almost naked, as several of these are represented; nor that, in a day of pomp and ceremony, they should have mounted their horses not only without spurs, but also without shoes; nor that the Athenian matrons, and the virgins, who took part in the procession, should have walked completely barefoot.† These

* Ἐμβαται; Xenophon de re equestri, ch. 12.

† Ἀνυπόδητοι, *barefoot*, and ἀναμίτυκες, *with dishevelled hair*, were, however, the Athenian women who walked

omissions were made for the advantage of the art, and were approaches to that ideal costume, which the artists of the Grecian school have almost always followed, even in executing portraits, and in treating historical subjects. It is an error, not unusual with the moderns, to believe that the costumes of the Greeks and Romans were always exactly such as we find them in the works of art.

No. 14. The last sculptured marble, belonging to this side of the frize, is that which made its western angle. It is preserved in the Collection: we see on it a

in the procession of the Thesmophoria. See Callimachus, Hymn to Ceres, v. 125.

It might be supposed that this frize having been embellished with some gildings, in its appendages of bronze, the gilding only might have been sufficient to express some ribbons, and to represent rich sandals on the feet of the figures, which now seem to be destitute of any covering. Some observers even fancied that they could discover vestiges of encaustic colours on the portion of the frize brought to France by Mr. de Choiseul Gouffier, before this valuable fragment had been cleaned.

young man almost naked, who is standing near his horse, and seems to be putting a crown on his head.* Another, ready to mount, is attended by a young man, perhaps his *groom*, (ἱπποκομος), dressed, like the *Ephebi*, in a simple chlamys, who is employed in tightening his belt, and in raising his tunic above the knee.

SOUTHERN FRIZE OF THE CELLA.†

We have seen, in examining the frize of the eastern front of the *Cella*, that the marble situated at its southern corner (No. 1) represents, on its southern face, a bull led by three figures. It was by the advance of victims then that the representation of the Panathenaean procession opened on this side, as well as on the opposite side. All the colonies of Athens, as well as all the townships or *Demi* of Attica, sent a victim each for the festival.‡

* Stuart, pl. 13. † Ib. pl. 15, 16, 27, 28, 30. D.

‡ See the Scholast on Aristophanes, Nub v 38[illegible].

In this manner, at the same time that they recognised the rights of their metropolis, they vied with each other in honouring the deity who was their common patroness.

No. 2, 3, 4, and 5. Seven other bulls appear in the four following bas reliefs; and the artist has shown no less ability in the execution of these animals; all are remarkable for the beauty of their forms, and for their action and animation; but the strength and resistance of the victims has afforded him an opportunity of varying the accessory circumstances, and consequently the motions and attitudes of the groups. The efforts which some of the men are making, to compel the restive bulls to follow them, afford combinations which exhibit the finest effects: and the figure of a man, who is crowning himself for the sacrifice, is very remarkable for its natural and graceful action.

The groups and the successions of figures

on the north and south fronts correspond to each other, without being exact repetitions. It is easy to comprehend the artist's intention, which was to show the spectator, that they represent the same procession, advancing towards the gate of the temple of two parallel columns.

To the *Scaphephori* of the northern frize, in whom we recognised the strangers settled at Athens, or the Metoeci, we have here corresponding several women performing the office of *Diphrophori*, or bearers of folding stools; and these women were the wives and daughters of the Metoeci. The pride of the Athenians was shown on no other occasion so signally as in this patriotic solemnity. The daughters and the wives of the Metoeci were obliged to carry seats and umbrellas for the convenience and the service of the wives and daughters of the Athenians.*

* Hesychius in Διφροφόροι; Scholiast on Aristophanes, Aves, v. 1550.

The part of the frize, in which these foreign women were represented, is now lost; but a drawing of them remains among those of the Marquis de Nointel. If we had not been acquainted with this custom, it would have been difficult to determine the nature of the object which is seen in the hands of these women. It is of a square form, like a book: and this square seems to be a sort of low stool, with the four feet bent under it, so that they do not appear. These folding stools must therefore have had the same form with the seats represented on the eastern frize, with this difference only, that the four feet, being fixed by hinges, could be bent under them, so that the whole assumed the form of a square book, as it is represented in the drawing.*

These figures are followed, in the same drawing, by a collection of citizens and old men, similar to that of the northern frize, but still more numerous. We have

next a string of chariots. (No. 6 to 10.) Stuart had not seen any bas relief on this side which represented any of them. Lord Elgin was more fortunate, and found as many as five; four of these have a pair of horses each, the fifth is a *quadriga*. Among the figures placed in the chariots, or preparing to ascend them, we see some warriors, armed with great circular shields. The Athenian warriors, who served in the infantry under the denomination of *hoplitae*, appeared in this festival armed with shields.* These bas reliefs must unquestionably have been placed in this part of the frize. Without having occasion to refer to the drawings of Nointel, in which we find some of them, the direction in which the figures are turned sufficiently determines the side which they occupied and all the chariots are advancing towards the right of the spectator.

The procession of the cavalry occupied

* Thucydides, b. 6. § 58.

all the space which remained, from the last of the chariots, to the western angle of the *Cella*. (No. 11, 12 . . .) This subject is handled with the same superiority of talent which we have admired in the northern frize: but that which we are now examining possesses the important advantage of having preserved, in some of its parts, which are still extremely perfect, as if for a specimen of the whole, all the original merit of this sublime work.

The skilful expression of the muscles, and even of the veins, both in the figures of the men and in those of the horses, informs us, according to the remark of an enlightened traveller,* that Phidias and his school had not neglected the study of anatomy. Thus these incomparable artists made the truth of their imitations keep pace with the judicious choice of their beautiful models.

* Mr. Edward Dodwell, who published at Rome in 1812, in folio, a memoir in Italian, *On some Grecian* bas reliefs. See p. vi, vii.

WESTERN FRIZE.*

This frize, which extended over the Pronaos, and over the *antae* or door posts of the *opisthodomos*, or back entrance *(posticum)*, possesses a particular character, but preserves from one end to the other a perfect consistency with the rest of the work. In this part the march of cavalry is not in any order. It appears that being the last comers, some of them are making haste to join the company of the left column, and others are preparing to mount on horseback.† The figures are

* Stuart, pl. 4, 30. A.

† That is to say, they seem to be advancing towards the northern frize. It must be remarked, that the number of horsemen on the northern frize was less than on the southern. The reason is, that on the former a part of the space was occupied by the representations of the Ascophori, the flute players, and the citharoedi, or performers on the lyre, who followed the Metoeci, and preceded the old men; while in the southern frize the company of old men immediately followed the *Diphrophori*, the wives and daughters of the Metoeci.

less crowded than on the frizes of the two sides of the temple; but the composition still exhibits a great variety of actions and motions. It is here that, among the different groups, I remarked one formed by a young horseman, not yet mounted, and his horse, which in its whole appearance has a great resemblance to the groups of Castor and Pollux, which are at present before the Quirinal palace: it is here also that two figures of horsemen are in the act of tying on their shoes or sandals, reminding us of the Jason of the Royal Museum of Paris.

I have described the bas relief executed on the north side of the marble forming the angle made by the northern and western frizes. We see on it one of the heralds of the procession, who seems to be reprimanding the stragglers, and hastening the movements of the lingerers.

Single Bas Relief of the Western Frize.—A single specimen of the bas reliefs of this

part of the frize is found in the Collection. It represents two horsemen riding towards the left. The first, whose floating chlamys leaves his body almost entirely naked, is turning back, and seems to be urging his comrade to take his place by his side. The latter, armed with a cuirass, has almost overtaken him. This is one of the best preserved pieces of the whole Collection.

These different bas reliefs, to the number of more than forty, make a part of, perhaps, the grandest composition that a statuary ever conceived. When placed in a line, one after another, they occupy a length of more than two hundred feet, and they are three feet three inches high.

§ 4. THE METOPES.

The Athenians assumed the merit of the invention of chariots for the purposes of war,* on which the Grecian warriors

* Aristides, Panathenaica, p. 157. Ed. Jebb.

thought they fought with an advantage against simple cavalry. The victories obtained by Theseus against the Centaurs and the Amazons, races of people belonging to the times of mythology, who inhabited, the first the mountains of Homole, the second the plains of Thermodon, and who had carried the art of riding to a certain degree of perfection; these victories, I say, flattered the vanity of the inhabitants of Attica, and were never neglected either in their annals or in their monuments. The ferocity of the Thessalian mountaineers, who first introduced the custom of hunting on horseback, had caused them to be considered by their affrighted neighbours as monsters, consisting of a singular mixture of the human figure with that of the horse. The genius of Zeuxis had been able to bestow on this monstrosity an agreeable form.* The arts profited by this example,

* Pausanias, b. 5. ch. 19, 2; Lucian in *Zeuxis.*

and made a happy use of it, for more than six centuries.*

Among the Athenian artists who were successful in the representations of these figures, we must place in the first rank Micon, who had painted groups and battles of Centaurs in the interior of the temple of Theseus,† which was built about twenty years before that of Minerva.‡ The statuaries had been eager to follow this example; and in the same edifice, the frize, which extends over the antae of the back portico, shows us to the present day, in bas relief, the

* Aristeas and Papias, the Aphrodisian statuaries, who executed the Centaurs called those of Furietti, probably flourished under the reign of Adrian. On the medals of Septimius Severus, struck at Laodicea in Syria, we see the Genii of the Circensian games represented under the elegant form of young Centaurs with butterflies' wings.

† Pausanias, b. 1. ch. 17.

‡ I here only allude to the interval which probably elapsed between the completion of the temple of Theseus under Cimon, and the commencement of the building of the Parthenon under Pericles.

battles and the groups which painting was unable to preserve for so long a period.* There would be no anachronism in supposing Phidias to have worked upon this frize in his youth: but it is more probable that it was the work of Micon himself, who was both a painter and a sculptor.

However this may be, it must be allowed that these representations of Centaurs were very popular among the Athenians, since Phidias, together with Ictinus, the architect of the Parthenon, determined to embellish with them the numerous Metopes of the magnificent temple which they built on the Acropolis, and to ornament some other celebrated monuments in a similar manner.† The representation of these

* Stuart's Athens, vol. 3. ch. 1.

† We may mention the temple of Apollo *Epicurios*, or the Auxiliary, built by the same architect near Phigalea in Arcadia. (Pausanias, b. 8. ch. 14.) The ravages and the battles of the Centaurs were represented on the frize which crowned the interior walls of the *Cella*. The munificence of his Royal Highness the Prince

battles was calculated to elevate and to perpetuate the glory of the Athenians, since it was they that, under the guidance of Theseus and of Minerva, succeeded, as Isocrates remarks,* in extirpating the race of the Centaurs, whom Hercules had humbled, but not completely destroyed.

If we add to the facts which I have mentioned, that the quarrel of Theseus with the Centaurs took place on occasion of the marriage of his friend Pirithous, king of the Lapithae, to which he had invited his ferocious neighbours, who, heated with wine, became guilty of the greatest excesses,† we shall have all the information necessary for completely understanding the subject of these bas reliefs, and for appreciating their merit with regard to invention and composition.

Regent has lately enriched the British Museum with these valuable remains of ancient art.

* Encomium Helenae, § 13.

† Homer Odyss. b. 21. v. 295; Virgil Georg. b. 2. v. 455; Ovid Metamorph. b. 12. v. 210 ...; Pausanias, b. 5. ch. 10.

This merit is so striking, that it is sufficient, in order to be convinced of it, merely to fix our eyes on the roughest sketches of the admirable groups executed on each Mètope. Six of them may be found engraved in the work of Stuart;* and all these, except the first, are found in Lord Elgin's Collection, which in the whole contains fifteen of the Metopes.

We must remark with regard to the subject of these bas reliefs, that the artist who invented them intended to represent in these battles, not the Lapithae of the Thessalian fable, but the Athenians, of whom Theseus was the chief†. These heroes are here represented with the same chlamydes, the same shields, and the same short boots *(embatae)*, which the figures of the Athènian horsemen bear on the bas reliefs of the frize.

Micon, in his paintings, had represented the same combats, at the moment when

* Vol. 2. ch. 1. pl. 10 . . 12. † Isocrates, Loc. cit.

success was still uncertain:* this undecided state of the affair appeared without doubt to throw more interest into the composition; and Phidias has preserved the same idea in the metopes which we are examining: in some of these the Centaur is thrown to the ground; in others the young hero is overcome; and in others again, the victory seems still in suspense.

The inventor appears to have wished to point out the cause of the quarrel by some appendage to the group: it originated in the convivial meeting of a wedding: and an inverted bowl, which is seen on one of the bas reliefs, gives us to understand that the vessels and utensils, which served for the purposes of the feast, had been made to furnish arms to drunkenness and brutality:

Res epulis quondam, nunc bello et cædibus apta.†

* Pausanias, b. 1. ch. 17.

† Ovid Metamorph. b. 12. v. 244. Once instruments of feasts, but now of fate. DRYDEN.

On some of the metopes we find not a combat, but the carrying off a female: a young woman, who is supposed to have been of the number of the guests, is ineffectually struggling in the arms of her ravisher.*

The relief of all these compositions is very prominent, and several of the parts approach very near to the natural rotundity: one of the figures was even attached to the back ground at a single point only.† An enlightened connoisseur had already remarked, that in bas reliefs exposed to the open air, a strong projection materially

* Alcamenes, an Athenian sculptor, who had executed the statues which were placed on the posterior tympan of the temple of Olympia, had there represented the same subject, a Centaur being exhibited in the act of carrying off a young female. Pausanias, b. 5. ch. 10.

† This is the only one of the injuries which the marbles of the Collection have undergone, that can be distinguished as of recent occurrence: all the rest, bearing the mark of a crust which time alone can give, indicate the successive and continual encroachments of barbarism and antiquity.

contributes to the firmness of the masses, and the harmony of the general effect.*

The execution of these sculptures is worthy of the school of Phidias and of the whole structure of the Parthenon: we may, however, distinguish in the metopes the work of different hands, a difference which is not perceived in the bas reliefs of the interior frize: although the greater part of them bear the stamp of the school, there are some which are not exempt from the charge of a certain degree of meagerness of execution.

The drawings of Nointel exhibit a remarkable peculiarity with respect to these metopes. Beginning from the sixth intercolumniation on the south side, as far as the tenth inclusively, the bas reliefs did not represent Centaurs: they were covered with other compositions, in which figures of men and women were distin-

* Mr. Emeric David, in his Essai sur le Classement chronologique des Sculpteurs Grecs. p. 21 (75).

guishable, but of which the subjects are unknown. One of these figures, in a stiff posture, raised on an altar, leads us to conjecture that it may have been intended to represent the ancient *wooden statue* of Minerva Polias, which was said to have fallen from heaven; or that of the Diana of Tauris, which was of the same substance (ξοανον), and which was pretended to have been brought to Brauron, a township of Attica, by Orestes himself.* In the inventories of the treasure of the temple, engraved on tablets of marble, which Dr. Chandler has published, and the greater part of which are at present in the collection of Lord Elgin, this statue of Diana is mentioned, or at least some articles which had been dedicated to this goddess, and which were preserved in the *Opisthodomos* of the Parthenon.†

* Pausanias, b. 1. ch. 33; Euripides, Iphigenia in Tauris, v. 1410 . . .

† Chandler Inscriptiones, p. 11. n. iv. 1 and iv. 2.

NOTE ADDED IN LONDON.

The metope, No. 15, (see p. 96) belongs to the Count de Choiseul Gouffier. Lord Elgin had bought it, with other articles, at a public sale of effects not claimed, at the custom-house in London. He had offered it to Mr. de Choiseul, supposing it to be his property. Deposited in this Collection, until M. de Choiseul shall cause it to be removed, this metope serves to bear testimony that Lord Elgin was not the first that ventured to touch the ruins of the Parthenon, the Ambassador of France having some years before pulled down this metope, which was broken in its fall.

SUNDIAL OF PHAEDRUS THE PAEANIAN.

The sundial belonging to the collection of the Earl of Elgin is the same that Spon had seen at Athens, in the court of the church of the Virgin called *Panagia Gorgopiko*.*

It has been supposed to have been taken from the Acropolis, but without any foundation. The form of this dial, which is perfectly singular, might lead us to con-

* Spon Voyage, vol. 2. p. 127; and at the end of the volume, in the list of the divisions of Attica, at the article Παιανια (*Paeania*), Ed. de la Haye, 1724. 12. p. 371.

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jecture that it served for showing the hour in one of the cross ways of Athens, at the end of several diverging streets.

Another peculiarity in this dial is, that it exhibits the name of the mathematician who constructed it. There is an inscription on the exterior of the two western faces of the dial, in this form:

ΦΑΙΔΡΟC . ΖΩΙΑΟΥ	Phaedrus the son of Zoïlus
ΠΑΙΑΝΙΕΥC . ΕΠΟΙΕΙ	Of Paeania made it.

This inscription was published by Spon.*

In order to form a just estimate of the work of Phaedrus, I have consulted my learned colleague, the Chevalier Delambre, one of the secretaries of the scientific class of the Royal Institute of France; this illustrious mathematician had studied the gnomonics of the ancients, and he had acknowledged the merit of the sundials drawn at Athens, on the eight faces of the Tower of the Winds, formerly the dial of

* Voyage, Loc. cit.

Andronicus Cyrrhestes.* He has been so obliging as to examine, at my request, the dials of Phaedrus, and to send me the result of his observations, which is highly favourable to the science and ability of the ancient mathematician. I shall subjoin Mr. Delambre's remarks in their original form.

With respect to the age to be assigned to Phaedrus, we have no very certain means of determining it. The rounded forms of the *Epsilon* and of the *Sigma*, as well as that of the *Omega* inverted, begin to appear on Athenian inscriptions of the date of the reign of Adrian ;† but they are more frequent on the monuments of the following centuries.

Notwithstanding this, the characters of the inscription of Phaedrus possess considerable elegance of form, and they seem to

* Magasin Encyclopédique, An. 1814, vol. 5. p. 361 ; An. 1815, vol. 1. p. 125.

† See Chandler's Inscriptions, b. 2. n. 21, 47.

be engraved in exact imitation of the running hand writing. The curves incline to be oval, and the figure of the *Omega*, ω, is altogether remarkable. This form has degenerated into W upon some medals of Septimius Severus, and of his successors. I am inclined to think that Phaedrus must have lived in the age of the Antonines.

Observations of the Chevalier DELAMBRE *on the Dials of Phaedrus.*

[It must be premised to these observations, that the surfaces of the dials, which Spon compares to a crescent, may be better represented by those of a standing fire screen, folded into the form of a W, the lower part being turned to the south: and that the ancients employed, for their gnomons, not lines parallel to the axis of the earth, but the simple point in which the projecting style terminated; the shadow of which described, by its daily paths on the usual planes of

projection, a series of hyperbolic curves, marking the hours on lines supposed to intersect all these curves. Such hour lines, in order to represent the modern division of time, would be straight lines; but if they were to divide the time between sun-rise and sunset into equal portions, or "temporary hours," they would require to be slightly, though perhaps imperceptibly, curved. The rectilinear path, at the time of the equinox, being delineated on the dials, would at once determine the situation of the effective termination of the style, which must have been in the same plane with these lines. Mr. Delambre is indeed of opinion, that the hour lines of the ancients ought to have been perfectly straight: but if he had considered the case of a dial for the latitude of the polar circles, he would probably have agreed with Montucla, that they must have been curves.]

At the first sight of these dials, it is evident that the two pairs are respectively

equal to each other; and that the inner dials must have had the same style, their meridian line being common to both.

It is observable, indeed, that the two hyperbolas of the winter solstice unite in the same point of the common meridian; and that the same is true of the two equinoctial lines, which are straight.

The two hyperbolas of the summer solstice terminate at a certain distance from the meridian, upon which they ought to meet, like those of the winter: hence it might be imagined that these two dials could not indicate the time of noon, or the sixth hour, throughout the year; and this, indeed, would be true, if the extremity of the style only were employed; for this style being too long for the summer solstice, the shadow of its summit fell beyond the limits of the dials. But the whole of the style being in the plane of the meridian, its shadow at noon always covered the line of 6 hours: so that these

dials showed the hours at every season, the one from sunrise till noon, the other from noon till sunset.

It is true that the line of 11 is wanting in the evening dial, "without any apparent reason, unless" it has been obliterated by time and injuries.

The line of 1 hour on the morning dial is drawn from the summer hyperbola to the line of the equinoctial path: we see no reason why it should not have been prolonged to the winter hyperbola; all the hour lines being right lines, there would have been no difficulty in continuing these to the horizontal line, that is to say, to the upper limit of the plane.

There is every reason to believe that these two lines, those of the 1st and 11th hours, had not been omitted in these dials, where it was just as easy to place them as on the neighbouring pair.

With respect to the hour 0, or that of sunrise, on the first dial, and that

of 12 on the second, it must have been shown all the year round, whatever might be the length of the style, supposing it straight. But it was useless to draw this line on the stone, because the upper horizontal termination of the planes answered the same purpose; unless indeed the style was a little higher than the marble, and in that case the line 0 .. 12 could not possibly have been drawn. Besides, we have no need to be informed that the sun is rising or setting; we have only to turn to the horizon, which supersedes the use of the sundial.

It is to be regretted that the hyperbolas of the winter solstice were not prolonged to the upper margin of the stone: it may be supposed that they have been obliterated, as well as the lines for the 1st and 11th hour.

The two exterior dials will give occasion for similar remarks. In the morning dial the line of 1 hour is obliterated at the two

extremities, which appears to prove that it was formerly entire. In the evening dial it has suffered still more; there only remains about one third of it in the summer part: the winter hyperbola also wants the end in the morning, as well as in the evening dial.

The horizontal line seems also to be wanting in these two dials; but it was useless or impossible to trace it, for the reasons already stated with respect to the interior pair.

The meridian, or the 6th hour line, is wanting in these two dials; it was wholly unnecessary, and we may suppose that it was confounded with the exterior vertical termination of the planes.

It is singular that the four dials are not of the same breadth; that the two inner ones are each 14 inches broad, the outer 12½ only: the two hypotenuses or bases are each 18 inches, so that the two triangles are perfectly equal: and supposing

these three lengths precisely accurate, the three angles will be

85°	22′	14″
50	49	36
43	48	10
180	0	0

It would, however, be an extraordinary accident if the three sides were exactly, and without a fraction, expressible in round numbers of French inches or half inches.

Let us now suppose the block correctly fixed, and its greatest length placed directly east and west: the declinations of the respective pairs of dials will then be equal, amounting, for the two inner ones, to 46° 11′ 50″ west and east of the meridian, and for the two outer, to 39° 10′ 24″ east and west of the same plane.

If the triangles had been isosceles and right angled, which would have appeared more natural, the four declinations would

each have amounted to 45°, and the four dials would have been perfectly equal.

The want of the horizontal lines deprives us of the means of determining more directly, and with greater certainty, the magnitude of these declinations, the length of the styles, and their horizontal distance from the meridian.

The style common to the two inner dials is at least determined by the distance of the winter arc from the equinoctial line on the common meridian. I have found that its length must have been 69.6 lines: but this style is oblique with respect to the two dials; their perpendicular or right style, which it is sufficient to imagine for the purposes of calculation, but which it was not necessary to fix on the marble, must have been of the length of 50¼ lines, at the distance of 48⅕ lines from the meridian.

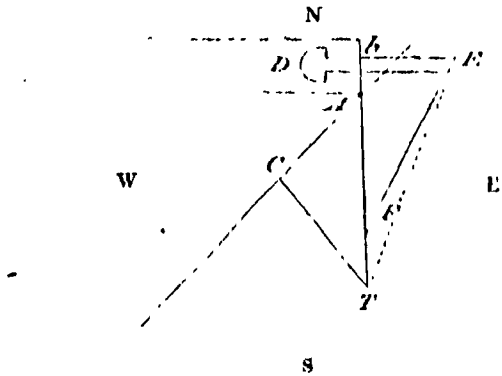
The different dimensions of the two dials, calculated upon these suppositions, have been found such as they are actually

delineated in the two drawings communicated by Mr. Visconti. We may, indeed, observe some very minute irregularities, for which the author could not be responsible, in the mechanical execution of his design, with little assistance from numerical calculations; and they have perhaps been magnified by the impossibility of measuring the distances, in the present state of the marble, with perfect precision.

We have no means of determining *a priori* the length of the style of the exterior dials; if we suppose it $50\frac{1}{4}$ lines, as for the other pair, we shall obtain very nearly all the dimensions of these two dials, though less correctly than those of the interior ones; but since these two outer dials are superfluous, and could have shown nothing which was not also to be found on the two inner, they may perhaps have been a little less carefully executed: they ought to have been perfectly equal between themselves: but in fact, though a

little different from the two former, they are not altogether so; and we have a right to suppose that the artist has been somewhat negligent in this respect. The style of the one may possibly have been a little longer than that of the other: but the difference could not have been very material.

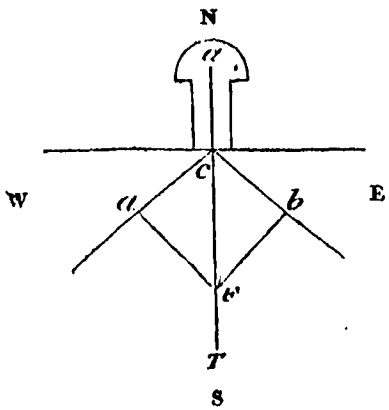
The styles of the outer dials could not have been placed, as we might have been tempted to believe, in the directions of the excavations made in the marble for fastening them.



The true style CT, $50\frac{1}{4}$ lines in height, must have been, at C, $48\frac{1}{5}$ lines from the angle A of the marble, in the eastern dial.

There was no occasion for the actual

presence of this style *CT*, which only serves for calculation; it was sufficient that the support *DE* should carry a triangle *b FE*, of which the base *b F* should be produced 19 lines from *F* to *T*; in reality the only part wanted was the portion *FT*, and the manner of attaching it to the support was optional; the construction might be varied many ways; if the space *CAT* was left empty, *AT* would give the time of noon on the angle of the wall throughout the year, and the point *T* by its shadow would show all the other hours; and instead of the triangle *b FE*, *bTE* might be employed, for greater strength. The same remarks are also applicable to the western dial.



For the southern dials the arrangement was more simple; the style *CT* was the continuation of the part *ac* fixed in the wall: it might have been strengthened by the addition of the quadrilateral figure *caFb*, filling up the space on each side of it; the point *F* would give the time of noon at the solstice, and *T* would point out all the other hours by its shadow.

There was a sort of luxury in this mode of construction adopted by Phaedrus, since every hour of the day was exhibited on two different dials. The two interior ones would have been sufficient, and they are the best executed; but the others may not have been useless to the inhabitants of some parts of the Acropolis.

The address of the author is chiefly observable in two points.

No vertical dial can show throughout the year the twelve hours of the day; and two dials, on opposite sides of the same wall, would be very inconvenient, since

the spectator would be obliged to follow the sun round the wall.

But when the two dials form an angle with each other, like these of Phaedrus, the one will always show the hours in the forenoon, the other in the afternoon.

By making the dials meet in the meridian, which is indeed the most natural, the construction was made more independent of the height of the marble. With a style $69\frac{3}{5}$ lines in length, the marble should have been 23 inches 11 lines in height. That which Phaedrus employed was only 18 in the whole; but in his mode of arrangement, the length of the style, and that of the shadow in summer, became more arbitrary, and it was sufficient to take care that the shadow of the summit should not be beyond the limits of the dial at the fifth and seventh hour.

The longer the style, the more sensible was the progress of the shadow; and the more distinct the parts of the dial were

rendered, the further could the shadow be seen. Supposing, therefore, the block to have been of given dimensions, it was not possible that Phaedrus should have employed it more advantageously.

These dials exhibit a combination of which I am not acquainted with any example either ancient or modern, and which might perhaps be imitated with advantage.

It will be recollected that we do not know, within half a degree, the elevation of the pole for which Phaedrus may have calculated his dial, and that we are not quite certain of the obliquity of the ecliptic that he has adopted; but we have employed 37° 30′ for the one, and 23° 51′ for the other, as in the case of the dials extant on the Tower of the Winds.

§ 5. MONUMENTS OF ART TAKEN FROM SOME OTHER EDIFICES OF THE ACROPOLIS.

CARYATID OF THE TEMPLE OF PANDROSOS.

Vitruvius informs us,* that after the victories obtained by the Greeks over the Persians, it became the custom to employ in some buildings, as supports or columns, statues representing either prisoners taken from the conquered nation, or the captive wives of the inhabitants of such Grecian cities, as had been unfaithful to the cause of their nation. Carya, in Arcadia, was among the cities that had betrayed the Greeks: and, according to Vitruvius, it is from the name of the Caryatic women, whose statues were employed in architecture, that the technical name of this kind of support has been borrowed.

The temples of Erechtheus, of Minerva

* B. 1. ch. 1.

Polias, and of Pandrosos, all raised on the same piece of ground, communicating with one another, and forming together a single edifice to the north of the Parthenon,* seem to have been rebuilt during the Peloponnesian war. It is at least certain, that in the year 409 before the Christian era, the 23d of this war, some parts of this building only remained to be finished. An inscription, bearing the date of the Archonship of Diocles, a very valuable document, communicated to the public by the Society of the Dilettanti in London, does not allow us to entertain any doubt either of the fact or of the date.†

* Stuart's Athens, vol. 2. ch. 11.

† Chandler Inscriptions, P. II. no. 1. Some learned men have thought that the temple of Minerva Polias, of which we still see so many remains, is not the same with that which is mentioned in the inscription (Chandler, P. XIII); for, according to Xenophon (Hist. Hellen. b. 1. ch. 7.), this temple was burnt in the year 406, B. C. But in these edifices, consisting entirely of marble, a conflagration could only injure the roof, and what might be called the furniture of the temple. It is thus that the

Now this inscription informs us, that the Caryatids which to this day support, in the temple of Pandrosos, the ceiling under which the ancient olive tree of Minerva was sheltered; that these Caryatids, I say, were already in their places; and that in order to finish the works of the temple, there only remained at that period to execute the sculptures of some pieces of marble, of which the inscription indicates the number, the situation, and the magnitude.

We read in it, line 85, "*Three of the stones of the soffit, which rests on the* (statues of the) *damsels, remain still to be finished in the work of their upper parts, for a space thirteen feet long, and five wide.*

III ΤΟΣΙΘΟΣΟΡΟΟΙΑΙΟΣΤΟΣ
ΕΠΙΤΟΝΚΟΡΟΝΕΠΕΡΑΑΣΑΣ
ΘΑΙΑΝΟΘΕΝΜΕΚΟΣΤΡΙΟΝ
ΚΑΙΔΕΚΑΠΟΔΟΝΠΛΑΤΟΣΠΕΝΤΕ
ΠΟΔΟΝ

Panthoon of Agrippa, notwithstanding a similar accident, is still preserved, in its most essential parts, such as it was at the time of its erection.

τους λιθες ὀρροφιαιες τες
III ἐπι των ΚΟΡΩΝ, ἐπεργασασ-
θαι ἀνωθεν, μηκος τριων
και δεκα ποδων, πλατος πεντε
ποδων*

The well informed Athenians, whose remarks are engraved in this inscription, have very properly denominated these Caryatids ΚΟΡΑΣ (girls or damsels); for in fact they represent, not captives, but

* I had formerly made a remark on this highly interesting inscription (*Museo Pio-Clementino*, vol. 4. p. 89.), which I shall here repeat. It had been supposed that the numeral characters, marked in the margin of the lines, indicated the estimate of the expenses that the completion of the marbles mentioned might require. (See Stuart, p. 17; and Schneider in his Vitruvius, vol. 2. p. 260.) But I think I have ascertained that these characters only show the number of the marbles and of the parts of the architecture which were not completely finished or fixed. The proof of this opinion is derived from the agreement of the words which follow them with respect to number, singular, dual, or plural, with the characters I, II, or more. Thus the character I, which signifies unity, agrees (Col 1. l. 30) with μετωπον, in the singular; in line 109 with μασχαλιαια τετραπους; in col. 2, line 21, with the adjectives πεντεποους, διποους, ποδιαιος, which refer to the word λιθος understood; in lines 39, 47, 81, and 86, with ἑτερον ἡμισγγον, which supposes the

Athenian virgins, bearing on their heads the sacred vases for the ceremonies of the sacrifice.*

The Caryatid belonging to the Collection is remarkable for the beautiful arrangement of its draperies, which consist of a very long tunic, a very little raised by the belt, and a small *peplum*, of which the

same substantive in the accusative. The number II corresponds, in the 26th line of the first column, to the dual nouns ἀντιμορω μηκος τετρασωδε; in the 33d line of the second to ἑτερουν, and in the 77th to ἑτερω μηκος πεντεσωδε. The characters III, II, (3, 5) are always followed by a plural.

* Mr. Lessing believes that the tradition of Vitruvius is a fable, and that the Caryatids were only Lacedemonian virgins, who celebrated at Carya, in Laconia, the festival of Diana. The statues of Lacedemonian virgins may very possibly have been employed as columns, in the same manner as the statues of the virgins of Attica have been in the temple of Pandrosos. In truth, no ancient Caryatid, with which I am acquainted, represents a captive. But as the figures of Persian prisoners supported at Sparta the roof of a portico (see Pausanias, b. 3. ch. 11; Vitruvius, b. 1. ch. 1.), it is not wholly improbable, that figures of captive women may have been employed in a similar manner, in some of the Grecian edifices.

part falling on the back is wide enough to form several picturesque folds. The arrangement of the hair is very artificial: the greater part is thrown behind the neck, smooth, and merely forming a knot at the end: the rest is divided into several braids, and falls before the shoulders.

The figure and the proportions of these statues are far from being delicate; nor is this a fault. Their broad and square shoulders render them more fit for the destination which the artist had allotted to them. Their dress is rich; the style of the execution is grand: but although it is very appropriate to the purposes of ornamental sculpture, it cannot be compared, in point of refinement, with that of the draped statues which embellished the tympans of the great temple. That which we are examining is in tolerably fine preservation: it only wants the fore arms.

BAS RELIEFS BELONGING TO THE FRIZE OF THE TEMPLE OF AGLAUROS.

On the steps which led to the Acropolis there stood, very near the Propylaea, a small temple of the Ionic order, of which the frize was ornamented with bas reliefs. Spon and Wheler, who had seen it, had mistaken it for the temple of Victory without wings, described by Pausanias. Dr. Chandler and J. Stuart had observed the mistake, and the latter has advanced some conjectures, which render it very probable that this temple was that of Aglauros;* but at the time of their travels it had been destroyed: there only remained some of the bas reliefs of the frize, attached to the wall of the inclosure. The work of Stuart

* Chandler's Travels, ch. 9; Stuart's Athens, vol. 2. ch. 6. p. 39, 40. A passage of Herodotus, b. 8. ch. 53, in which the historian has mentioned this temple, may be adduced in support of the conjectures of Stuart.

gives us some very imperfect drawings of these bas reliefs.*

Four of these marbles are found in the collection of Lord Elgin. All of them represent battles between Grecian and barbarian heroes. The former are covered with helmets, and armed with large circular shields, and have no other draperies than floating robes or chlamydes. They are all on foot; while several of their enemies are fighting on horseback. The costume of these figures is more remarkable: it is that which the Grecian artists appropriated to the nations whom they called barbarous, and which differed but little from the actual dress of the Persians. Their tunics have narrow sleeves descending to the wrist: their legs and thighs are covered with very tight pantaloons, and their heads with tiaras, of the same form with those which the antiquaries distinguish by the appellation of Phrygian caps. Their

* Stuart, pl. 12, 13.

shields are small, and excavated *in the form of a crescent (peltae lunatae)*; and what is more remarkable, notwithstanding this uniformity of costume, it appears very distinctly, that on three of these bas reliefs these figures represent men, and on the fourth women.

When we recollect that the paintings of the *Poecile*, executed by Micon, represented both the victory of the Athenians over the Amazons, and the defeat of the Persians; the former put to flight at a place in Attica afterwards known by the name of *Amazonëion*;* the latter subdued in the plain of Marathon; and that these subjects were also united in the bas reliefs placed by Attalus, king of Pergamus, on the outer walls of the Acropolis;† it must appear very probable that they have been here united in a similar manner, in the

* See Meursius, *Theseus*, ch. 20, in the 10th volume of Gronovius's Thesaurus.

† Pausanias, b. 1. ch. 25.

sculptures of the frize of the temple of Aglauros.

This deified heroine had sacrificed her life for the preservation of her country: and it was in her temple that the young Athenians swore *to defend their native land, and to die in its service.** It was therefore highly appropriate to represent, in the decorations of this temple, celebrated examples of the valour and devotion of the citizens of Athens, who had twice repelled the invasions of foreign armies from the territory of Attica. I conceive that the subject of these four bas reliefs may even serve to prove more and more certainly, that the monument to which they belonged was the temple of Aglauros.

The composition of these works is of the highest beauty. The artist who executed them probably transferred into his compositions some of the groups

* Ulpian and Demosth. fals. legat. p. 391; ὑπὲρ μαχεῖν, ἄχρι θανατου, της θρεψαμενης.

invented by Micon: and this conjecture is the more probable, as the execution of these bas reliefs, without being negligent, still falls short of the beauty of the invention.

Although the injuries of time have, to a certain degree, impaired these works, their appearance is still agreeable and interesting; and if the deficiencies of the reliefs were supplied by restorations ably executed in stucco, I am persuaded that the whole of these compositions, which are admirably varied in the actions and in the subordinate arrangements of figures and groups, both of men and of horses, would produce a grand and sublime effect.

BAS RELIEF OF THE THEATRE OF BACCHUS.

It is in the ruins of the theatre of Bacchus, built under the rock of the Acropolis, towards the south west, that the

bas relief which we are examining was long ago discovered.*

It represents Bacchus and some other demigods of his convivial followers: and it was to this divinity that the theatre, and the spectacles exhibited in it, were principally consecrated, as well as a very ancient temple which stood near this building.†

If we consider the period at which the theatre of Athens was completed, under the administration of Lycurgus, the son of Lycophron, a contemporary of Alexander the Great;‡ and if, at the same time, we examine the style of the bas relief, it will appear evident that this bas relief is of much greater antiquity than the building of the theatre.

The species of sculpture is that which the Greeks distinguished by the appella-

* Stuart's Athens, vol. 2. p. 45. See the vignette of ch. 3.

† Pausanias, b. 1. ch. 20.

‡ Plutarch's *Lives of the Ten Orators; Lycurgus*, at the end. Pausanias, b. 1. ch. 29.

tion of the sculpture of Aegina, or of the old Attic school, which differed but little from that which the moderns describe by the name of Etruscan.*

The subject of the bas relief, of which Stuart has published an engraving, is Bacchus, for whom the goddess of drunkenness (Μεθη), Methe, is pouring out wine. She has taken the wine from a great bowl, which is seen standing on the ground behind her; two bearded Sileni or Fauni, at the opposite extremities of the marble, in corresponding actions, seem to be beginning a dance, holding thyrsi in their hands. This symmetrical arrangement is very proper for a work of sculpture, which was to be employed as an architectural decoration.

The costume of Bacchus is very remarkable. The god does not appear in the young and girlish character which the poets attribute to him.† He has a long

* Strabo, b. 17. p. 806. † Ovid's Metamorph. b. 4. v. 19.

beard; but his head dress resembles that of a woman; and his drapery, which consists of a long tunic covered by a peplum, might also represent that of a woman. He is stretching out his right hand, in which he holds a vessel with handles, towards the figure near him, who is filling it with the liquor contained in a similar vessel: each of them has a thyrsus in the left hand: and the dress of the Bacchante, whom I suppose to be Methe or Drunkenness, is a simple tunic without sleeves, covered with the small *peplum*, of which the *extremities* (πτερυγια) are angular and plaited.

The most ancient monuments of Grecian art, such as the chest of Cypselus, and the wooden statue erected to the god of wine in his temple at Aegina, had represented him in the same costume, that is to say, in a long tunic, and with a beard.* It is also the same costume, and a head dress

* Pausanias, b. 2 ch. 30; b. 5. ch. 19.

of the same kind, that we find in the ancient figure of Bacchus, which I have published in the Museo Pio-Clementino, and on which we read the word ΣΑΡΔΑΝΑΠΑΛΛΟΣ *(Sardanapallos)*; an inscription which is indeed ancient, but several centuries later than the artist who executed the statue, and indicates only the character of effeminacy, of which the bearded Bacchus was become the allegory.* I have here given the name of Methe, or Drunkenness, to the Bacchante who pours out his wine, because a personification of Drunkenness had been painted by Pausias, and represented in a statue by Praxiteles; and in a temple of Silenus, in Elis, the same personage was pouring out wine for the foster-father of Bacchus.†

* Museo Pio-Clementino, vol. 2. pl. 41; and vol. 7. p. 99. See also my explanation of the same statue in the 45th number of the Musée Français.

† Pliny, b. 34. § 19. n. 10; Pausanias, b. 11. ch. 27; and b. 6. ch. 24.

The characters of a very ancient style of art, which I have just remarked in this statue, induce me to conjecture that it once belonged to the identical temple of Bacchus, near which the theatre was built; and this discovery seems to me to confirm the opinion of Stuart, who has recognised the remains of this theatre in the magnificent ruins extending to the south west of the Propylaea.*

The less ancient and covered theatre, which Herodes Atticus had dedicated to the memory of his wife Regilla,† must have been that of which the vestiges are scarcely perceptible, to the south of the same rock.

It has been erroneously supposed that the remains of arches, which Stuart has represented in his Ruins of Athens, afforded a certain argument that the edifice,

* Athens, vol. 2. ch. 3.

† Pausanias, b. 7. ch. 20; Philostratus, Lives of the Sophists, b. 2. Herodes, § 5.

to which they belonged, was of the age of Herodes and of the Antonines.

Arches were not unknown in the Grecian architecture of the time of Alexander the Great, though very little use was made of them in the building of temples. The Greeks only employed them in edifices of a certain kind, to which this form seemed indispensable. Such were the aqueducts, of which the *arches* (ψαλιδες) near to Argos were cut by Cleomenes:* such was the theatre of Mitylene, the exterior arcades of which were probably imitated at Rome in the theatre of Pompey, which served in its turn as a model for that of Marcellus.† It is not, therefore, impossible that arches may have been employed, about the time of Alexander the Great, in the construction of a theatre; the first perhaps that was built of solid materials at Athens, for the purpose of entertaining the Greeks

* Plutarch, Cleomenes, § 21.

† Plutarch, Pompey, § 42; Dio, b. 43, § 49.

with the masterpieces of Sophocles and Euripides, and with the comedies of Aristophanes and Menander.

The action of the atmosphere has committed its ravages on this marble in a uniform manner; a thin surface has been carried away from the whole bas relief, which appears to have been peeled, but without any mutilation. This general corrosion has rendered several of its details indistinct; and these the draughtsman employed by Stuart has too often supplied, without sufficient feeling of the true spirit of the antique. It is to a mistake of this kind that we are indebted for the kind of caps, which have been substituted for the hair of Bacchus, and for that of his companion.

COLOSSAL STATUE TAKEN FROM THE CHORAGIC MONUMENT OF THRASYLLUS.

The Choragic monument of Thrasyllus was constructed in the year 320 B. C., to

the south of the Acropolis, and at the entrance of a grotto which has been converted into a church.*

The inscription, which is read on the architrave of the edifice, informs us that its date was in the Archonship of Neaechmus, and that Thrasyllus of Deceleia caused the monument to be raised, in order to perpetuate the memory of the victory obtained by the Hippothoontic tribe, in the contention of the Dionysiac chorusses of men, while he was Choregus.† Half a century afterwards, Thrasyllus, his son, or his grandson, being Agonotheta, or president of the games, commemorated on the same monument the events of two other choragic victories: the one obtained

* The Greeks distinguish it by the name of Panagia Spiliotissa, or Our Lady of the Grotto.

† We find in Stuart's Athens, vol. 2. ch. 4, the designs of the monument, and the copy of the inscription. In the last line I believe that ΚΑΡΧΙΔΑΜΟΣ is not a single word, and that we must read Κ'ΑΡΧΙΔΑΜΟΣ for ΚΑΙ ΑΡΧΙΔΑΜΟΣ.

by the young boys of the Hippothoontic tribe, the other by the men of the Pandionic.*

A colossal sitting figure was placed on the summit of this edifice: it is now part of the Collection of Lord Elgin; in the time of Stuart it was still in its original situation, where, although without a head, and with the arms much mutilated,† it attracted the attention of travellers, and gave rise to different opinions respecting the personage which it represented. J. Stuart has published a drawing of it, in which the head has been supplied from imagination.

Dr. Chandler, believing that the grotto, over which the monument of Thrasyllus

* These inscriptions are found in Stuart, p. 30, 31.

† The holes made in the marble show that these parts had been added at the time of the execution of the statue, as has been done in other colossal figures with drapery, such as the Juno of the Museo Pio-Clementino at Rome, and the Minerva of the Royal Museum at Paris.

has been raised, was the same in which Pausanias had seen the tragical end of the children of Niobe carved on a tripod of bronze, has supposed that the statue which we are examining, and which crowned the summit of the front, represented this unhappy heroine.* So slight a conjecture could not be very generally approved, especially as it is not at the top of the theatre mentioned by Pausanias that the grotto in question is situated.†

Others, with more probability, had thought that this figure represented the tribe of Hippothoon, or the township of Deceleia personified.‡

Others again were of opinion that the figure might possibly represent Diana. The skin of a lion, which makes a part of its dress, would agree sufficiently well with

* Chandler's Travels. ch. 12. p. 64.

† Dr. Chandler, however, entertained on this point an opinion different from that of Stuart, which I have adopted.

‡ Stuart, p 34.

the goddess of hunting: and this divinity, who participated at Athens in the worship rendered to her brother, is easily recognised, in the choral processions, on several Grecian bas reliefs.*

But all these conjectures appeared to be without foundation when the statue was removed to London. The artists and connoisseurs of that metropolis soon perceived, by the form of the chest, and the outlines of the body, that the statue, although in the dress of a woman, represented a personage of the other sex. And it will not be difficult to determine who this personage was.

The god of joy, the son of Semele, whom, from his earliest infancy, Mercury clothed as a girl,† frequently appears in

* Monumens du Musée Napoleon, vol. 4. pl. 7, 8, 9. See also the 48th number of the Musée Français.

† Apollodorus, b. 3. ch. 4. § 3. We have a very fine description of this disguisement in the 14th book of the Dionysiacs of Nonnus, v. 159 . . .

this dress on the monuments of art. The bas relief, which we have just seen, affords us an example of it: and we find several others in the collections of antiques which I have quoted below.*

The *lion's skin* (λεοντη) agrees as well with Bacchus as that of the *roebuck* and the *panther* (νεβρις, παρδαλις); they were all comprehended under the common name of *Nebrides*.† The Dionysiac mysteries having been confounded with with those of Cybele and of Atthis, they borrowed thence the lions and the drums.‡ But what is most remarkable in the statue, and gives it a still more decided character, is the broad belt which confines the tunic, and binds down the lion's skin. This peculiarity was noticed in the Athenian poems attributed to Orpheus, as charac-

* Galleria Giustiniani, vol. 2. pl. 122; Museo Capitolino, vol. 4. pl. 63; Museo Pio-Clementino, vol. 7. pl. 2.

† Servius ad Virg. Aen. b. 1. v. 327.

‡ Museo Pio-Clementino, vol. 4. pl. 30.

teristic of Bacchus, when he was considered as the god of the seasons:

Εἶτα δ' ὑπερθε νεβρης χρυσουν ζωστηρα βαλεσθαι.
*And bind the belt of gold around the spotted skin.**

We know that the most celebrated prizes for choral performances took place in the Dionysiaca, or the feasts of Bacchus;† and it is for this reason that the image and the fabulous adventures of this god ornament the choragic monument of Lysicrates.‡

The monument of Thrasyllus, erected on a similar occasion, carried on its highest point a colossal statue of this divinity. The artist, who executed it, appears to have been worthy, from the style of his performance, to be the contemporary of a Praxiteles and a Lysippus. Every

* See the fragment of Orpheus, n. 7. v. 17. Ed. Gessner; it is taken from Macrobius, *Saturn.* b. 1. ch. 18.

† Lysias, p. 689. Ed. Reiske; Ulpian in Demosth. Or. contr. Leptin. p. 128.

‡ Stuart's Athens, vol. 1. ch. 4.

traveller has admired the sculpture of this noble fragment:* the style of the statuary is indeed magnificent and grand: but his work does not appear to equal advantage, now that it is placed by the side of the masterpieces of Phidias.

Stuart has conjectured that the statue of Bacchus supported on its knees the tripod, which was the prize of the victory.† As there is no vestige of its insertion into the marble, to confirm this opinion, I am rather disposed to believe that the consecrated tripod was placed within the grotto, which from this time was converted into a little temple.

* Stuart's Athens, vol. 2. p. 29.

† Stuart, p. 34.

METHODICAL CATALOGUE

OF THE

GREEK INSCRIPTIONS

OF THE

COLLECTION OF THE EARL OF ELGIN.

No. 1. An Epitaph on two brothers, Diotrephes and Demophon, soldiers of Parium, followed by this Epigram:

Μνημα φιλη μητης με Διϊτρεφει ἐυθαδ' ἐθηκεν,
Και Περικλει φθιμενειν, "μητρι χ' ἡ" αἰνομορος·
Ἀγνης τ' ἐνθαδε οἱ θυγατηρ, και ἀδελφος ἐχουσιν
Μοιραν Δημοφων την μετα πασι βροτοις.

To Pericles a wretched mother's care,
And to Diitrephes, erects this tomb;
Here too her daughter and her brother share,
Agnes and Demophon, the common doom.

I have corrected some faults of orthography which are found in the original. The

epitaph in verse adds "three" other names to the two which are mentioned in the inscription in prose.

No. 2. Sepulchral column of Thalia, daughter of Callistratus.

No. 3. Sepulchral column of Theodotus of Antioch.

No. 4. Sepulchral column of Socrates of Ancyra.

No. 5. Sepulchral column of Menestratus of Corinth.

No. 6. Votive inscription of some mariners.

No. 7. Sepulchral column of an Athenian, whose name is mutilated, but who, from the letters remaining, may be supposed to have been of the township of Criöa.

No. 8. Fragment of an inscription. We read among the mutilated words:

- - - ΜΟΣ
- - - ΙΔΟΣ

No. 9. Decree of the people of Athens

in favour of Osacharas, a Macedonian, passed in the Archonship of Nicodorus, in the year 314 B. C.

Dr. Chandler, who has published this inscription, P. II. No. XI, thinks that Agathon, the father of Osacharas, who is mentioned in it, was the brother of Cassander.

The abbreviation OIN, which occurs in this inscription, is intended for OIHΘEN, of the township of Οἰα: *Oea.*

No. 10. Votive inscription of Antisthenes, priest of Pandion, of the Pandionic tribe. This marble has been published by Dr. Chandler, P. II. No. VIII.

No. 11. Votive inscription of Polyllus, son of Polyllides the Paeanian. It was placed under a bust of Polyllus, who, in the two last lines, which are in verse, is called Polystratus. The name of Polyllus, therefore, was only a *diminutive*, ὑποκοριστικον, of the name Polystratus.

These are the two verses, which I have completed in the latter part :

Εἰκονα τηνδ' ἀνεθηκε Πολυστρατος αὐτου Ἀθηνᾳ
Μνημοσυνην θνητου σωματος ἀθανατην.
This votive stone Polystratus pourtrays ;
This shall Minerva guard to distant days.

No. 12. Sepulchral column of Anaxicrates, the Athenian.

No. 13. Votive inscription of a woman devoted to the worship of a goddess. The name of the woman and that of the goddess are wanting, together with the first lines of the inscription, the remainder of which contains details implying great erudition in the writer. Dr. Chandler has published this marble, P. II. No. XXIX. His copy requires in several places correction from the original.

The first lines which remain must be read thus :

κιονια και το ἀετωμα, (ΑΙΤΩΜ . . in the marble)

και · τας κιγκλιδας, (ΚΙΝΚΛΙΔΑΣ in the marble)

in line 9 we must read thus: στολιζοντος: line 12, ζακορευοντος.

No. 14. Agonistic inscription, presenting us with the names of the seventeen conquerors in the races of the stadium and the double stadium, in the long races, in wrestling, boxing, the *pancratium*, and the *pentathlum*.

Mr. Fauvel had favoured me, several years since, with a copy of this inscription, assuring me that he had found it at the village of *Parapongia*, situated half way between Platæa and Thespiæ in Bœotia. Mr. Fauvel believes that this village was the Leuctra of the ancients.

No. 15. Fragment of a sepulchral inscription in verse. The first words are:

Θυγατρος ου κλαυσης φθιμενης. . .

A daughter's fate lament not. . .

The name of the woman is wanting.

No. 16. Choragic monument in the Doric dialect:

Ἀλευας Νικωνος, Καφισοδωρος
Ἀγλαοφαιδαο ἀνδρεσσι
Χορηγιοντες, νικασαντες
Διωνυσῳ ἀνεθεταν.
Ἀθανιαο ἀρχοντος, αὐλιοντος Κλεινιαο,
ᾠδοντος Κρατωνος.

" Aleuas the son of Nicon, and Cephisodorus the son of Aglaophaedas, choregi for the chorusses of men, have dedicated (this offering) to Bacchus, in the archonship of Athenias: Clinias being the flute player, and Crato the singer."

No. 17. Epitaph in verse, separated into two parts, one marked with this number, the other No. 34. It has been published by Spon, *Miscellanea*, Sect. 10; by Fabretti, *Inscriptiones*, p. 322; by Brunck, *Analecta*, Adesp. No. 721; and by Chandler, P. II. No. LXI. None of them have represented it exactly. The following is a correct copy:

Ἤ ποτε κυδιόωσα ξανθαις ἐπι κρατος ἐθειραις*
Και χαριτοβλεφαροις ὀμμασι λαμπομενη,
Χιονεοις τε παρειαις προσωποις, ἠδε παρειαις,
Και γλυκερου στοματος ὄπα λειριοεσσαν† ἱεισα,
Χειλεσι‡ πορφυρεοις, ἐλεφαντινεων δι' ὀδοντων·
Παντοιην ἀρετην περικαλλιεῖ σωματι§ θεισα·
Ἥν τεκεν Εὐτυχιδη Σθεναρῳ Κιλικια χαρμα,‖
Εἰκοσιπενταετης Τρυφερα τηδ' ἐν χθονι κειται.¶
Ἑρμερως δ' Ἀριστομαχοιο πατρος και μητρος Ερινης**
Μνημ' ἀλοχῳ φιλῃ θηκατο κηριδιῃ.

Adorned of late with flowing locks of gold;
A radiant eye, that beamed with beauty's light,
Couched gracefully within the eyelid's fold;
A glowing cheek, a neck of snowy white;
A lovely mouth, that poured a voice refined,
Through vermeil lips, and teeth of ivory bright;
With each perfection in her form combined;
Lamented Tryphera in endless night
Here sleeps; Cilicia's daughter, once the pride
Of brave Eutychides her sire; her life

* ΕΘΙΡΑΙΣ, on the marble.
† ΑΙΡΙΟΕΣΣΑΝ.
‡ ΧΙΛΕΣΙ.
§ The 7 last letters are wanting.
‖ The 2 last letters are wanting.
¶ The 5 last letters are wanting.
** The 10 last letters are wanting.

Five lustres only saw; the virtuous wife
Of Hermeros; he, of Erinne born,
And Aristomachus, in grief forlorn,
Has raised this marble to his virgin bride.

The poet has taken great liberties in this epigram.

In the first line κυδιοωσα is of three syllables: it is necessary to contract διοω into one by a *synaloepha*.

The second is a pentameter.

In the 7th, Κλικια has the two first syllables long.

The first foot of the 9th is a *ditrochee*. Brunck has changed the name of Hermeros, and has made a heptameter of the verse.

Lastly, the last line is a pentameter.

No. 18. A votive monument dedicated to Mercury and to Hercules. The bas relief which represented the two divinities is almost entirely destroyed: the two verses engraved below it are mutilated, as follows:

- - μετα της νικης Ὡραριος ἠρ - - -
- - ατταδας Ἑρμεια θηκε και Ἡρ - - -

Proud of his victory Horarius gave
To Hermes and to Hercules - - -

Horarius is a proper name.

No. 19. Sepulchral column of Hieroclea, the daughter of Lucius: the bas relief has been removed.

No. 20. Sepulchral column of Callis, the daughter of Strato.

No. 21. Sepulchral column of Callimachus of Aexone.

No. 22. Fragment of a decree of a city, of which the name is not found in the remaining part of the inscription. It is however probable that this monument belonged to the Athenians: it is remarkable for the ancient characters which it presents, and it appears to relate to a treaty with some other nations.

No. 23. A large tablet of marble, containing the catalogue of the Athenian warriors who lost their lives in the year

424 B. C. under the walls of Delium in Boeotia, and elsewhere, during the eighth year of the Peloponnesian war. This palaeographical monument constitutes a continuation of the celebrated inscriptions of Nointel, published several times, and particularly by Maffei, *Museum Veronense*, p. CCCCVI.

I propose to give a separate memoir on this inscription, in which I shall establish the accuracy of the date which I have mentioned.

No. 24. Sepulchral epigram of a young man named Plutarch, who died in Italy. It is here copied:

Πλουταρχου τοδε σημα σαοφρονος, ὁς ϖολυμοχθου
Κυδεος ἱμειρων ἠλυθεν Λὐσονιην.
Ἐνθα ϖονοισι ϖονους ἀνεμετρεε, τηλοθε ϖατρης,
Μουνογενης ϖερ ἐων και ϖατερεσσι φιλος.
Ἀλλ' ἐον οὐκ ἐτελεσσε ϖοθον, μαλα ϖερ μενεαινων·
Προσθε γαρ ἀστοργου μοιρα κιχεν θανατου.

This stone records the modest Plutarch's name,
Who in Ausonia sought laborious fame;

Far from his country there his race was run,
Though of fond parents born the only son.
But death, remorseless, in his fatal hour,
Blasted his ardent hopes of wealth and power.

No. 25. Fragment of a decree in favour of an individual and his family.

No. 26. Fragment of a decree of the people of Tenos, in favour of an individual.

No. 27. Fragment of the stele or column of Euphrosynus.

No. 28. Fragment of the stele or sepulchral stone of Musonia.

No. 29. Fragment of an epitaph in verse of a woman named Briseis.

No. 30. Fragment of an inscription which seems to contain an address to the Emperor Adrian.

No. 31. Fragment of a decree of the people of Athens, passed under the prytania, or presidency, of the Pandionic tribe.

No. 32. A very valuable inscription engraved on the two surfaces of a thick

tablet of marble, broken into two pieces which correspond to each other.

We read in it on one side the decree of the general council of the Boeotians, (ΚΟΙΝΟΝ ΒΟΙΩΤΩΝ) ordaining the election of three extraordinary magistrates, who, in concert with the ordinary magistrates of the Boeotians, were to take charge of the recasting several articles of gold and silver, belonging to the temple of Amphiaraüs, and injured by the effects of time, as well as of that of several pieces of money which had been consecrated in the same temple, making out of the whole a new service of plate, and repairing such of the ancient plate as required it. The manner of proceeding legally in the execution of the decree is appointed, and it is enjoined that all the articles, of which the recasting is ordained, shall be weighed, described, and registered on a table of marble, with the names and the countries of the donors. In fact, the back of the same

tablet presents us with the catalogue of the plate thus recast, and with all the details described by the decree of the Boeotians.

It is several years since Mr. Fauvel, vice-consul of France at Athens, had copied this inscription in the village of Caluno, which is three leagues from Oropus, and at the same distance from Marathon. I am in possession of this copy, which had been taken when the marble was less injured than at present hence, though not very accurate, it has enabled me to supply some important words which are deficient in my own copy. I propose to publish a separate memoir on this inscription, which belongs to the age of the successors of Alexander, and which cannot be later than the year 171 B. C., the period at which the general council of the Boeotians was dissolved by the Romans. See Livy, b. 42. ch. 44.

No. 33. Inscription of the Gymnasiarch Gorgias.

No. 34. The marble thus numbered makes a part of the inscription mentioned in No. 17.

No. 35. A valuable fragment of an Athenian inscription, containing an account of the expenses defrayed by the treasurers of the goddess, according to the decrees of the people, during a year which is not indicated by the name of the Archon, this name having been effaced by the mutilation of the marble: but the year was probably the 8th of the Peloponnesian war (424 B.C.). Dr. Chandler has published this inscription (P. II. No. II.); but he understood very little of it. The marble offers us some very important variations. This monument is precisely in the same predicament with that which the Abbé Barthelemy has published in a separate dissertation, and to which he has given the name of the Marble of Choiseul. I propose to make some remarks on this fragment, in which I shall also explain

some expressions of the Marble of Choiseul.

The characters employed in this inscription are the ancient characters in use at Athens before the archonship of Euclid, and similar to those of the inscriptions marked No. 22 and 23.

No. 36. A large inedited fragment of the inventory of articles of gold and silver, which were found in the treasure of the goddess, and which the quaestors of the property of the temple, ΤΑΜΙΑΙ ΤΩΝ ΙΕΡΩΝ ΧΡΗΜΑΤΩΝ,acknowledge that they have received from their predecessors. The articles are enumerated, and most of them weighed; but some of them have been set down ΑΣΤΑΘΜΟΙ, *without their weights.*

This inscription is written in the ancient characters, like the preceding, and covers both sides of the marble. On one side there remain forty lines, and more than fifty on the other.

The first line on one side exhibits the following expression:

Ἐκ Παναθηναιων ἐς Παναθηναια,

From Panathenaea to Panathenaea,

which marks the time of the year at which this solemn delivery of the property took place.

No. 37. Another inedited fragment of the same kind, written in the ancient character, on the two surfaces of the same tablet of marble. Each of the sides presents us with more than forty lines of engraving. The expression διδοσαν τον λογον, *gave the account*, forms the first line of one of the surfaces; and the other begins with the characters HHHHΔΔ (ccccxx).

No. 38. Another inedited fragment of the same kind, written, like the preceding, in the ancient character.

No. 39. A very valuable fragment, in the ancient character. It relates to a treaty which was made between the Athenians and the inhabitants of Rhegium, a

town of the Bruttii, in the archonship of Apseudes, which answers to the year 433 B. C. Thucydides (b. 3. § 86.) informs us, that in consequence of this treaty, the Athenians sent, some years afterwards, a fleet to Rhegium, under the pretext of defending the place against the attempts of the Syracusans: so that this marble explains and confirms the narrative of the historian.

No. 40. Fragment of a column, on which we read an inscription, partly in verse and partly in prose. It results from the portion which remains, that the column supported the statue of an Athenian named Piso, who was of the equestrian order, and had been eponymous or titular archon at Athens, giving his name to the year. The little statue was consecrated to Aesculapius, and Piso was represented with a torch in his hand, as we see in some other votive figures. This monument is of the age of the Roman emperors.

No. 41. A very ancient sepulchral inscription, remarkable for several palaeographic or singular forms. The word ΥΙΟΣ, *son*, is here twice written without the second vowel of the diphthong, ΥΟΣ, an orthography of which the examples are very rare.

No. 42 and 43. A tablet of marble, with inscriptions on both sides. We find on it the inventory of the valuable articles which were kept in the Opisthodomos of the Parthenon of Athens. The orthography of the inscription is posterior to the archonship of Euclid, that is to say, to the year 403 B. C., the period at which the modern orthography was adopted by the Athenians. In fact, the inscription itself mentions a gift of Lysander to Minerva, without doubt on occasion of the taking of Athens, which this general entered in the year 404 B. C. This part of the inscription fixes with certainty the name of the father of Lysander, which was Aristocritus, as Pausanias calls him,

and not Aristoclitus, as we read in Plutarch and elsewhere.

Dr. Chandler first published these two inscriptions (P. II. No. IV. 1, and IV, 2); but in copying them he has omitted some lines. Yet the marble, in the time of Chandler, was less injured and less mutilated than it now is at the two sides, so that the Doctor's printed copy may serve in some parts to supply the deficiencies of the text; and on the other hand, the original marble corrects the printed copy in several passages.

Notwithstanding the new orthography introduced in the archonship of Euclid, the single O is still employed here for the diphthong OY. But it is not the same with E for the diphthong EI, notwithstanding the contrary assertion of Chandler.

No. 44. A singular inscription in the Boeotian Aeolic dialect. We observe in it forms, whether grammatical or palaeographical, unknown to all those who have

written on the dialects of the Greek language, and on its palaeography or ancient orthography. We also find in it some unknown words, and some names of months and magistracies which do not occur elsewhere.

The subject of the inscription, of which as many as 55 lines remain, is a treaty between the cities of Orchomenos in Boeotia, and Elatea in Phocis, relative to the payments due from the Orchomenians to the citizens of Elatea. These payments originated in the permission granted to the Orchomenians, to feed their flocks in the pastures of the Elateans. The inscription, which has been engraved at Orchomenos, confirms the payment of the sums stipulated, and the renewal of the treaty of pasturage, ΕΠΙΝΟΜΙΑΣ, for the space of four years.

The inscription must belong to a period very little earlier than the year 370 B. C. in which the Thebans subdued the Orchomenians.

Meletius has inserted in his Geography a copy of this inscription, which is full of errors, and in which there are many omissions: Such as he has given it, it would for ever have remained inexplicable: and nothing but the original marble could serve to determine the true reading and to explain the sense. (See Meletii *Geographia*, sect. 18. ch. 9. p. 342. Ed. Ven. 1728. fol.)

I am in possession of an exact copy of the inscription in question, and I propose to add to it another copy, in which the words shall be separated from each other, according to my mode of reading and understanding it: and lastly, I shall add to it a translation into common Greek.

The marble contains on the left side a fragment of another inscription; but as it has been sawed, in order to employ a piece of it for some other purpose, we only discover in it the end of some words, all of which seem to have been proper names,

whether of the Orchomenians who were the possessors of cattle, or of the Elateans who were the proprietors of pastures.

No. 45. Fragment of an inscription engraved before the archonship of Euclid, as we may collect from the form of the characters, and containing an inventory of the riches and valuable articles which were found in the Opisthodomos of the Parthenon. We have mentioned in this catalogue several other inscriptions of the same kind, and of the same orthography. J. Stuart has engraved this in the tail piece of the first chapter of the second volume of the Antiquities of Athens. The marble contains a greater number of lines than Stuart's plate; but on the other hand the marble is more worn than it was in the time of this traveller: an alteration which affords us a new proof of the destruction that threatened all these monuments, if they had been allowed to remain but a few years longer at Athens.

No. 46. Fragment of an inscription of the same kind, in characters anterior to the archonship of Euclid. It is more injured than the preceding; there remain of it forty-five lines.

No. 47. Fragment of a decree. The first words which remain are:

ΥΠΕΥΘΥΝΟΙ ΕΣΤΩΣΑΝ:

Let them be responsible.

No. 48. Fragment of a psephisma or decree, of which the end only remains. It seems to belong to the city of Corinth; for it ordains that the marble shall be placed in the temple of Neptune and Amphitrite. (See Pausanias, b. 2. ch. 1).

No. 49. Fragment of a decree. We read in it, in the last line but one, the name of Hierapytna, a city of Crete. It ordains that the decree shall have the public seal attached to it.

No. 50. A large fragment of an inventory of valuable articles, deposited in some temple. If this temple was, as there is

reason to suppose, the Parthenon of Athens, the difference in the shape and the dimensions of the characters, which in this marble are smaller, and more remote from the antique forms than those of the other marbles of the same kind, would prove that the inscription in question belongs to a period posterior to that of the monuments which we have lately mentioned. The characters, however, are correct, and neatly engraved; and the inscription contains some very interesting details of antiquity.

No. 51. Fragment of a decree passed by a society consecrated to the honour of Bacchus and of the Emperor Antoninus Pius, and consisting of persons of all countries. This society is also mentioned in it, under the title of the *Scenic* or *Peripolitic Society*. This last epithet seems to indicate a travelling company, ready to remove from city to city.

No. 52. Sepulchral stele ornamented

on the summit with a flower. It is inscribed with the names of a husband and wife, Hippocrates and Baucis.

No. 53. The Sigean inscription, the most celebrated palæographical monument in existence. It is a quadrangular prism of marble, more than 8½ English feet in height, and a foot and a half in breadth and thickness. This inscription is engraved *bustrophedon*, that is to say, one line of it is read from left to right, and the next from right to left, in the same way as a ploughman turns up his furrows. It is twice repeated on the same surface, at different heights. The lower inscription is the more ancient, since it has not two different characters for the E and the H, nor for the O and the Ω; while these differences are observed in the inscription engraved at the upper part of the prism. Besides, the first seems to have been written in the life time of Phanodicus; the second, that is to say, the upper one, after his death. I imagine that the latter

was engraved on the upper part of the prism with the view of diminishing its height; and the lower part was at the same time sunk into the ground, so that the inscription of Phanodicus was no longer visible; which was the motive for repeating it at the upper part of the pillar, with some slight variations, depending on the differences of circumstances and dates.

Chishull first published this inscription in his *Antiquitates Asiaticae*: and Dr. Chandler has given it more correctly, at the beginning of his work entitled, *Inscriptiones in Asia minori et Graecia.*

No. 54. Sepulchral inscription, engraved on an entablature. The two first lines are in prose, and are followed by an epitaph in sixteen elegiac verses.

The deceased was Publius Aelius Phaedrus, son of Pistoteles of Sunium. His father was distinguished by the office of *Exhegetes, expounder of the sacred laws,*

and by other honourable titles: the father of Cecropia, his mother, was Athenion of Phalereus, *Perihegetes* for life, probably *leader of the sacred processions.* Here follows the epigram:

Κεκροπια* μεν εμοι σαοφρων πελει, ω ξενε, μητηρ,
Ξυνον της πατριας ουνομ' ενεγκαμενη.
'Εκ δε πατρος γενομην μεγακυδεος εν Κεκροπεσσι
Θειοφιλου,† προγονοις και γενει ευπατριδου.
Παρ' τουτων και πριν μεν ανηρπασεν αργιος αισα
Τερπνον παρθενικην ανθος 'Αθηναιδα.
'Αμφι δε μευ και δημος ατας εδακρυσεν 'Αθηνης,
Εινεκεν ηλικιας τ' ηδε σαοφροσυνης,
Και καλλευς μελεων ανδρηιου, ωστε μαλιστα
Παιδειᾳ πινυτῃ και Σοφιῃ μελομην.
Δακρυα δ'ου ψυχει[·] γενετης εμος οικτρος, ολεσσας
Εὐφροσυνην βιοτου και χερα γηροκομον.
Μετρον μοι ζωης ετη εικοσιν, ουνομα Φαιδρος·
Χηρας Λευκειας λεκτρ' αλοχου λιπομην.
Κουρην δ' ην τεκομην γεραροι κομεουσι τοκηες,
Βαιην αντι τοσης, δυσμοροι, αγλαιης.

Cecropia's name my virtuous mother bears,
That honoured name my native country shares:

* "This α is lengthened by cæsura, or we must read Κεκροπιη."

† The marble has ΘΕΟΦΙΛΟΥ.

My sire, renowned for birth and lineage high,
Theophilus, of noblest ancestry.
Stern fate from these had erst, in beauty's morn,
The lovely maiden Athenaïs torn.
For me all Athens sheds the pitying tear,
So late to learning and to wisdom dear:
And weeps my youth, and modesty, and grace,
And manly symmetry of form and face.
My wretched father's grief no tears assuage,
Lost his sole joy, the comfort of his age.
Phaedrus my name: my twentieth summer o'er,
I shared Leucea's widowed bed no more.
My daughter claims my parents' tender cares,
Poor remnant of the bliss that once was theirs.

No. 55. Sepulchral column of Biottus of Diradium.

No. 56. Supulchral column of Mysta of Miletus, the wife of Rhaton of Thria. The name of this Athenian township is engraved in a doubtful manner. Instead of ΘΡΙΑΣΙΟΥ, the characters seem to make ΘΗΑΣΙΟΥ.

No. 57. Sepulchral column of Thraso, son of Thrasyphon, of the township of Cicinna. This marble is remarkable for

its magnitude, as well as for that of the characters engraved on it.

No. 58. Stele of Asclepiodorus the Olynthian, and of his son.

No. 59. Sepulchral column of Aristides, son of Lysimachus the Estiaean. This monument does not belong to the celebrated Aristides, the son of Lysimachus, surnamed the Just. Aristides the Just was not of the township of Estiaea, but of that of Alopece. (Plutarch, Aristid. § 1.) Besides, the characters are of a less ancient date.

The name of the township Estiaea is however remarkable, because it is of rare occurrence. This monument determines its orthography. It has sometimes been called Istiaea.

No. 60. Eleven votive inscriptions dedicated to Jupiter *Hypsistos*, or the most high, who had a temple at Thebes (Pausanias, b. 9. ch. 8). These marbles are all of small dimensions, and exhibit bas reliefs

of the different parts of the body, of which the cures had given occasion to the erection of these votive monuments.

That, for instance, of Claudia Prepusa represents two arms: that of Euhodus, an eye: another, in which the name of the person is almost entirely effaced, a hand: that of Paederos, a ear: that of Philematium, two eyes: those of Onesime, Isias, and Eutychis, a breast: that of Olympias, another part of the female person: that of Tertia, the lower part of the face: and that of Syntrophus is without any bas relief; while a twelfth marble, on the contrary, represents a foot, without any inscription.

No. 61. A fragment of an inscription in the ancient characters, containing a treaty between the Athenians and some other nation. Dr. Chandler has published this inscription, P. II. No. XXVI.

No. 62. Sepulchral column of Botrichus of Heraclea.

No. 63. Fragment of a public act of the Athenians, which seems to relate to some local circumstances in the neighbourhood of Athens, relating to the restoration of the roads. This fragment, which consists of twenty-one lines, contains some peculiarities very interesting to literature, and several new words.

No. 64. A sepulchral epigram, in twelve elegiac verses. This marble, found in the exterior Ceramicus, had belonged to the tomb of the warriors who lost their lives in the attack on Potidaea, in the year 432 B. C.

I read in last September, before the Class of History and Ancient Literature of the Institute of France, a memoir, in which I have endeavoured to restore the eight last verses of this epigram, a contemporary monument which confirms the truth of the narrative of Thucydides.*

Among the cinerary vases remarkable

* See the end of this volume.

for their forms, for the sculptures with which they are ornamented, and for their inscriptions; and among the sepulchral stelae, embellished with inscriptions and bas reliefs, monuments of which there are a great number in the collection of Lord Elgin, there are two which must not be wholly omitted in this Catalogue.

On one of the stelae a young man on horseback is represented, his groom following him on foot. Above the figures we read the following inscription, consisting of three verses, of which the second is a pentameter, the two others hexameters:

Πολλα μεθ' ηλικιας ομοηλικος ηδεα παισας,
Εκ γαιας βλαστων γαια παλιν γεγονα·
Ειμι δ' Αριστοκλης Πειραιευς, παις δε Μενωνος.

Youth's social joys were long my envied lot;
But, sprung from earth, I now to earth retire.
My name, Aristocles, my native spot,
Piraeus: Menon was my honoured sire.

Dr. Chandler had published this inscription, P. II. p. 69. No. LXXVIII; and the editor of the third volume of *Stuart's Antiquities of Athens* has engraved the whole monument in a vignette, (p. 56); but the copy of the inscription is deficient in accuracy.

The bas relief of another stele is more remarkable. It represents two women. The one who is the taller, in the costume of the goddess Isis, is clothed in a *Calasiris*, or wide linen garment, tied over the chest in a knot. She has a sistrum in her right hand, and a little *bucket (situla)* in her left. The other woman has a head dress in the fashion of the reign of the Antonines.

The inscription, engraved above the second figure, gives her the name of Aphrodisias of Salamis, wife of Olympius. The other, which corresponds to the figure of Isis, is traced in characters which resemble in their form those of the Egyptian

or Coptic alphabet; and the words, which they represent, seem to belong to the same language.

MEMOIR

ON A

GREEK EPIGRAM

WHICH

SERVED FOR AN EPITAPH ON THE TOMB

OF THE

ATHENIAN WARRIORS KILLED AT POTIDAEA.

READ TO THE CLASS OF HISTORY AND ANCIENT LITERATURE OF THE ROYAL INSTITUTE OF FRANCE, IN THE MONTH OF SEPTEMBER 1815

MEMOIR

ON A

GREEK EPIGRAM.

THE palaeographical monuments, which are connected with facts celebrated in the Grecian history, of which the remembrance has been transmitted to us by the great historians of that nation, are extremely rare, and merit all the attention of philologists, of critics, and of antiquaries.

Among the sculptured and engraved marbles which the Earl of Elgin has saved from impending destruction, and which he has removed to England, we observe some Greek inscriptions of high antiquity.

Several of them belong to the same age, which witnessed the magic power of the chisel of Phidias, in the production of so many sublime pieces of sculpture which we admire in this inestimable Collection.

Among these inscriptions, I shall now select one for examination before the Class of the Institute. It is a poetical epitaph on the Athenians who lost their lives in the battle fought under the walls of Potidaea, in the year 432 B. C.*

This action, of which the time is fixed with the greatest precision by Thucydides himself, as having been the 5th month of the magistracy of the eponymous Archon of Athens, Pythodorus, is found minutely described in the first book of this historian, §§ 62 and 63. Aristeus, the son of Adimantus, a distinguished citizen of Corinth, had brought a considerable force from the Peloponnesus, in order to defend this Corinthian colony of Pallene against the

* Corsini *Fasti Attici*, vol. 1. p. 95. vol. 3. p. 227. . .

Athenians, who, commanded by Callias, the son of Calliades, endeavoured to force it to detach itself from the interests of the mother country. Aristeus proposed to place between two fires, according to the modern expression, the Athenian army, which was encamped between Potidaca and Olynthus. When this army advanced towards the city, and Aristeus marched to meet it, the Macedonians in alliance with the Corinthians were to make a sortie from Olynthus, and attack the Athenians in the rear. Callias, who had foreseen this stratagem, took his measures to frustrate its effect: he left behind him some Macedonian troops who took a different part in the war, in order to oppose such of their countrymen as might march from Olynthus; he attacked the Potidaeans and the Corinthians, defeated them, notwithstanding the valour and the first success of Aristeus, and forced them to retire with loss, and to shut themselves up within the

walls of their city, which, after a siege of about two years, was obliged to surrender.* Callias, though victorious, lost his life on the field of battle, and a hundred and fifty Athenians perished with him.

This affair was considered as the first trial of strength between the different parts of Greece, after their separation from each other; and although the armies concerned in it were not numerous, it acquired great celebrity. Diodorus Siculus calls it† *μαχην περιφανη, an illustrious battle.*

In Thucydides, a writer of the same age, it constitutes a memorable epoch; he says in his second book, that the Peloponnesian war began the following spring, six months after this victory was obtained by the Athenians, who raised a trophy on the field of battle. The same historian speaks‡ elsewhere of the care which they took, to

* Thucydides, b. 2. § 70.
† B. 12. § 37.
‡ Ib. b. 1. § 63. b. 2. § 2.

remove every year to Athens the bodies of the warriors who lost their lives in their expeditions, to celebrate their funerals, and to honour them with a common monument.* There can be no doubt that some of the 40 vessels, which composed the Athenian fleet that blockaded Potidaea,† carried back to their country the remains of these valiant warriors; and that they had their share in the funeral honours which their fellow citizens so religiously rendered to the brave men who had fallen in fighting for their country. The metrical epitaph found near the Ceramicus at Athens, a place appropriated to these military tombs,‡ in which, notwithstanding the injuries of time, by which it has been

* Thucydides, b. 2. § 34.

† Ib. b. 1. § 61.

‡ Pausanias, Attica, in b. 1. ch. 29: Meursius, *Ceramicus geminus*, ch. 22, 23, in Gronovius's Thesaurus, vol. 4. p. 1006.. The inscription which we are examining was found in the plain of the Academia. The exterior Ceramicus extended to this place.

mutilated, these warriors and their victory are most unequivocally mentioned, affords us perfect certainty with regard to this fact. I shall submit to the Class an exact copy of the epitaph; its sense will be easily understood, and I shall endeavour to supply its deficiencies in the most probable manner.

It will be proper to begin by remarking, that besides the inscriptions which contained the names of the Athenians slain in battle, and which were engraved on their common tombs, these monuments were frequently decorated by another inscription in verse, expressive of the admiration of their country, and of the general sorrow for their loss. Pausanias has mentioned one of these elegies;* and Demosthenes has preserved that which Athens had placed on the tomb of her citizens who fell at Chaeronea, in defending the liberty of

* B. 1. ch. 29.

Greece against Philip.* It consists of ten elegiac verses.

That which I present to you contains twelve; at the beginning of which there remain some vestiges of a line in larger characters, serving as a sort of title to the epitaph. These vestiges afford us at first sight but little, hope of extracting any sense from them: but in examining them with more attention, we discover in them the traces of the four letters ΕΛΟΙ, which might be regarded as the two last syllables of the word στρατηγῷ (ΕΛΟΙ for ΗΓΩΙ); for the characters of this inscription resemble those of the Athenian marbles of Nointel and Choiseul,† except that in the first of the inscriptions of Nointel, the *rho* and the *sigma* have a different form. According to this conjecture, it is not altogether

* Pro corona, p. 222; Ed. Reiske.

† Montfaucon, *Palæographia Græca*, b. 2. ch. 4; Maffei, *Museum Veronense*, p. 406, 407; Barthélemy, *Dissertation sur une ancienne inscription grecque*, Paris, 1792, 4to.

absurd to suppose that the whole title of the inscription may have been somewhat like the following:

ΕΙΣΤΟΣΕΝΤΕΙΜΑΧΕΙΤΕΙΠΕΡΙ
ΠΟΤΕΙΔΑΙΑΝΣΥΓΚΑΛΛΙΑΙΣΤΡΑΤ
ΕΛΟΙΠΕΠΤΟΚΟΤΑΣ
Εἰς τους ἐν τῃ μαχῃ τῃ περι
Ποτειδαιαν συν Καλλιᾳ στρατ-
ΗΓΩΙ πεπτωκοτας.

On the warriors who fell in battle under the walls of Potidaea, with Callias their general.

These four characters are placed at a greater distance from each other than those of the rest of the inscription. We observe this variety of distribution in some other palaeographical monuments of the same date.* This seems to have been usual at the end of a title, or of a separate article of an inscription, in order that the

* See Chandler's Collection (*Inscriptiones per Asiam et Graeciam*, Part II. No. II, CLVII.); and the title of the first inscription of Nointel, in the *Palaeographia Graeca* of Montfaucon, loc. citat.

last words should fill up a space nearly equal to that of the preceding lines.

The epigram stands at present thus:

1. ΑΘΑΝΑΙ - - - - - -
2. ΣΕΜΑΙΝΕΙ - - - -
3. ΚΑΙΠΡΟΛΟΝΟ - - -
4. ΝΙΚΕΝΕΥΠΟΙΕΜΟΙ - - -
5. ΑΙΘΕΡΜΕΜΦΣΥΧΑΣΥΠΕΔΕΧΣΑΤΟΣΟ - - -
6. ΤΟΝΔΕΠΟΤΕΙΔΑΙΑΣΑΜΦΙΠΥΙΑΣΕΙ - - -
7. ΕΧΘΡΟΝΔΟΙΜΕΝΕΧΟΣΙΤΑΦΟΜΕΡΟΣΗΙ - -
8. ΤΕΙΧΟΣΠΙΣΤΟΤΑΤΕΝΗΕΙΠΙΔΕΘΕΝΤΟ - -
9. ΑΝΔΡΑΣΜΕΜΠΟΙΙΣΗΕΔΕΠΟΘΕΙΚΑΙΔ - -
10. ΠΡΟΣΘΕΠΟΤΕΙΔΑΙΑΣΗΟΙΘΑΝΟΝΕΜΠΙ - -
11. ΠΑΙΔΕΣΑΘΕΝΑΙΟΝΦΣΥΧΑΣΔΑ - - - - -
12. - - - ΑΧΣΑΝΤΑΡΕΤΕΝΚΑΙΠΑΤ - - ΥΚΙ -

The third and fifth distichs, mutilated as they are, determine the subject of the elegy. The fifth affords a complete sense in the words which are read without mutilation:

ΑΝΔΡΑΣ ΜΕΝ ΠΟΛΙΣ ΗΔΕ ΠΟΘΕΙ . .
ΠΡΟΣΘΕ ΠΟΤΕΙΔΑΙΑΣ ΟΙ ΘΑΝΟΝ .

This city regrets the warriors who fell before Potidaea.

Having established this principal point of my researches, I shall proceed to offer my remarks on each line of this epitaph.

Of the first verse there only remains the imperfect word ΑΘΑΝΑΙ: of the sixth character we distinguish only a vertical line, which might belong to several different letters, but the five preceding incline us to believe that this stroke was a part of a Ταυ, and that the word was one of the cases of the adjective ἀθανατος. In an Athenian inscription, it would be absurd to suppose that the name of the city itself, or that of the goddess its protectress, should be expressed in any other dialect than the Attic.

L. 2. The word ΣΕΜΑΙΝΕΙ (σημαινει) is distinct and complete.

L. 3. ΚΑΙΠΡΟΛΟΝΟ: The form of the lambda in the following line, ι, shows that the seventh letter, Λ, in this line is a gam-

ma. As the Ο, the Ω, and the diphthong ΟΥ, are represented in the inscription by the same character Ο, it is probable that the last letter of the line is meant either for an Ω or for the diphthong. It is natural to think that the ancestors of these brave men were mentioned in the plural: and I imagine that we may either read

ΚΑΙ ΠΡΟΓΟΝΩΝ, or ΚΑΙ ΠΡΟΓΟΝΟΥΣ.

L. 4. ΝΙΚΕΝΕΥΠΟΛΕΜΟΙ: of the last letter there remains but a vertical line, probably the left leg of a Ν; ΝΙΚΗΝ ΕΥΠΟΛΕΜΟΝ.

I prefer this reading to another which might be suggested, ΝΙΚΗΝ ΕΥ ΠΟΛΕΜΟΥΝΤΕΣ.

I have two reasons for this preference; the first is in the rhythm: the verse, being a pentameter, demands a pause after the syllable which follows the end of the second foot: this pause is preserved in the reading ΝΙΚΗΝ ΕΥΠΟΛΕΜΟΝ, and not in the

other: the second reason is deduced from the Homeric hymn in honour of Mars, in which the same epithet is given to Victory, of whom Mars is called the father.*

Νικης εὐπολεμοιο πατερ.

Νικη εὐπολεμος is the victory which gives a happy termination to the war.

With the third distich the completion of the verses begins to appear possible. The greatest part of this distich exists in this form:

ΑΙΘΕΡΜΕΜΦΣΥΧΑΣΥΠΕΔΕΧΣΑΤΟΣΟ . . . .
ΤΟΝΔΕΠΟΤΕΙΔΑΙΑΣΑΜΦΙΠΥΛΑΣΕΛ . . . .

The two letters, ΣΟ, at the conclusion of the former line, belong to the word ΣΟΜΑΤΑ (*σωματα*) *bodies*, which is opposed to ΦΣΥΧΑΣ (*ψυχας*) *souls*.

The Aether, says the poet, *has received their souls; and their bodies at the gates of Potidaea . . .*

I conjecture that the deficiencies of these two verses may be thus supplied:

* Hymn to Mars, v. 4.

ΑΙΘΕΡΜΕΜΦΣΥΧΑΣΥΠΕΔΕΧΣΑΤΟΣΩΜΑΤΑΔΗΥΠ
NON
ΤΟΝΔΕΠΟΤΕΙΔΑΙΑΣΑΜΦΙΠΥΛΑΣΕΛΑΧΟΝ

Αἰθηρ μεν ψυχας ὑπεδεξατο, σωματα δ' ὑπνον
Τονδε Ποτειδαιας ἀμφι πυλας ἐλαχον.

The last word, ΕΛΑΧΟΝ, seems to be sufficiently certain, since the two first letters have been preserved.

The insertion of the word Ὑπνον may be thought to require some discussion. But it must be allowed, 1st, that after the word ΣΩΜΑΤΑ, which the sense obviously requires, the particle ΔΕ is indispensable, in order to correspond to the ΜΕΝ which precedes it; 2dly, that this particle must have suffered an elision, since the hexameter requires a long syllable for the spondee at its end; 3dly, that the last word of the verse must have been a noun masculine, as its agreement with the demonstrative ΤΟΝΔΕ, which follows, renders indubitable; 4thly, this word must also have begun with a vowel, in order to the elision of the short

vowel of the particle ΔΕ, and its first syllable must have been long. Few Greek words will be found to fulfil all these conditions.

If this monument had been placed on the field of battle, I should have proposed the word ΟΙΚΟΝ (οἶκον τονδε) *their bodies have obtained this home under the walls of Potidaea*; and this sense would form a correct antithesis to the former part of the sentence, respecting the union of the souls with the purest air, or Aether, which was according to the philosophy of the age.* But the epitaph and the monument were placed at Athens, according to the custom of the republic; it is there that the marble was found; and even independently of that circumstance, the 9th verse, in which we read ΠΟΛΙΣ ΗΕΔΕ, *this city*, which is Athens and not Potidaea, would prove it

* Particularly that of Anaximander and of Anaxagoras. See Plutarch, *de placitis philosophorum*, b. 1. ch. 3; b. 4. ch. 3.

beyond contradiction. I have thought, therefore, that the word Ὕπνον would fulfil all the necessary conditions better than any other: *and their bodies at the gates of Potidaea have found this sleep (this eternal sleep.)**

I had also thought of the word ΟΡΜΟΝ, for death is not only compared by the ancients to sleep, but it is also regarded as the *port*, in which mankind is sheltered at length from the storms and the dangers of life;† but it appeared to me that this word, carrying with it an idea of locality, afforded but an embarrassed sense, and did not very well accord with the mention of Potidaea. The port which received these warriors, under the walls of Potidaea, does not seem to be that in which their

* Many sepulchral epigrams have designated death by the appellations Ἱερὸς ὕπνος, ὕπνος πεπρωμένος, ὀφιλόμενος, νηγρετος, &c.; *sacred sleep, fatal sleep, sleep due to all mortals, sleep never to be disturbed.* See the 44th, 49th, and 56th epigrams of Callimachus, and the 666th of the *Adespota* in the *Analecta* of Brunck.

† Virg. Aen. b. 7. v. 598, Longin. § 9. No. 7.

bodies rest in the suburbs of Athens. I prefer, therefore, Ὕπνον: [although others might possibly suggest αἶνον or οἶτον, or might even think οἶκον equally admissible. The sense of the whole distich will be:

The Aether has received their souls, and their bodies have found eternal rest at the gates of Potidaea.

This same distich gives occasion to some palaeographical remarks: MEM is written for MEN, on account of the following mute labial letter *psi* (ΦΣ); this substitution is very frequent in ancient monuments, and is almost always observed in the inscriptions of these remote ages. It is also to the orthography of the same period, at which the characters expressing the double letters were not yet generally adopted, that we must attribute the use of the two letters *phi* and *sigma* to express the ψ (*psi*), and that of the *chi* and *sigma* for the ξ (*xi*.)

What is most remarkable is the orthography of the word Ποτειδαια, which we

find every where else written without a diphthong in the second syllable, Ποτιδαια, in the Ionic manner, and according to Herodotus. The orthography Ποτειδαια is, however, more consonant to the etymology; and without doubt this was the primitive form of the word; for we recognise in it the name of Neptune, Ποσειδων, which in the Doric pronunciation of the Potidaeans* became Ποτειδαων, the tutelary divinity of their city, of which the name in another dialect would have been Ποσειδεια. This connexion of Potidaea with Neptune is not a gratuitous assertion or a mere conjecture; it is supported by historical evidence. Herodotus relates, that the Persians, in attacking Potidaea, were drowned on its shores by an extraordinary elevation of the sea, an event which the Greeks attributed to the displeasure of Neptune. The god, they said, took this vengeance for the destruction of his tem-

* Thucydides, b. 1. §. 124.

ple, which was situated without the walls of the city.*

The 4th distich exhibits a deficiency which it is easier to supply: we read,

[illegible]ΕΧΘΡΟΝΔΟΙΜΕΝΕΧΟΣΙΤΑΦΟΜΕΡΟΣ . .

after this word there remains only the aspiration H, belonging to the article ΗΟΙ (οἱ δε), which must answer to the οἱ μεν at the beginning of the verse. The following is almost entire, in this form:

ΤΕΙΧΟΣΠΙΣΤΟΤΑΤΕΝΗΕΛΠΙΔΕΘΕΝΤΟ . .

A part of the enemy obtained the honours of sepulture, another part was put to flight, and trusted to the ramparts of the city, the surest hope of their safety; according to this interpretation, respecting which no doubt can be entertained, we might thus supply the words which have been effaced:

ΕΧΘΡΟΝΔΟΙΜΕΝΕΧΟΣΙΤΑΦΟΜΕΡΟΣΗοι δε φυγοντες
ΤΕΙΧΟΣΠΙΣΤΟΤΑΤΕΝΗΕΛΠΙΔΕΘΕΝΤΟ βιου

* Herodotus, b. 8. ch. 129. This is the same place that is mentioned by Thucydides under the name Ποσειδωνιον, *Neptunium* (b. 4. § 129.)

Ἐχθρῶν δ' οἱ μεν ἐχουσι ταφου μερος, οἱ δε φυγοντες
Τειχος πιστοτατην ἐλπιδ' ἐθεντο βιου.

The facts stated in these two verses agree perfectly with the narrative of Thucydides. Aristeus, who had obtained a remarkable advantage in his own quarter, when he saw the defeat of the principal corps of the army, endeavoured to regain the *walls* of the city, towards which the fugitive troops *retired in disorder*, εἰς το τειχος κατεφυγον, says the historian.* Nor does he neglect to mention the *truce* granted by the Athenians to the enemy for the burial of the *dead*, whose bodies *they gave up to the Potidaeans*, τους νεκρους ὑποσπονδους ἀπεδοσαν τοις Ποτιδαιαταις.† The phrase ἐχειν ταφου μερος, in the epigram, does not imply that the dead bodies of the Potidaeans shared the funeral rites of the Athenians, as we might be tempted to suppose, from a too literal interpretation of the word μερος. This word is here only

* B. 1. § 63. † Loc. cit

equivalent to *lot*, or *portion*, and signifies that it was the lot of such of the enemy, as were killed in the battle, to be buried with appropriate honours. We have an example of the same expression in the Agamemnon of Aeschylus, where the sense is the same: Οὐ γαρ, says the herald Talthybius,*

Οὐ γαρ ποτ' ηὐχουν τηδ' ἐν Ἀργειᾳ πολει
Θανων, μετεξειν φιλτατου ταφου μερος.

For never thought I in this honoured earth
To share in death the portion of a tomb. POTTER.

The aspiration of some of the words deserves to be remarked in this distich. The H is a character which in these very ancient inscriptions serves to mark the aspiration of the initial vowels: yet in the seventh line, OI MEN is without the aspirate, though the corresponding HOI AE begins with an H.

I have observed that in other monuments of the same kind this sign of

* Aeschyl. Agamemn. v. 518.

aspiration has sometimes been neglected. Thus the H has been omitted in the word ΑΛΙΕΥΣΙ, *fishermen*, in the title of the first of the inscriptions of Nointel; and in another inscription of Lord Elgin's Collection, engraved in the time of the Peloponnesian war, the aspirate is omitted at the beginning of the proper name ΑΛΝΟΔΕΜΟΣ (Ἁγνοδήμος,), *Hagnodemus*.

In the present inscription the aspirate has been omitted at the beginning of the word Ὑπεδεξατο, as it is omitted in the word Ὑποκρητηρα of the Sigean inscription. We find it, however, before the initial Υ of the word ΗΥΦΟΣ (ὕψος), of the Athenian inscription, which belonged to the Society of *Dilettanti* in London. (Chandler, p. 11. No. I.)

By an opposite peculiarity, the word ΗΕΛΠΙΣ (ἐλπις) is here aspirated, but never in the manuscripts of ancient authors: and this circumstance is not owing to an accidental insertion of the character; it

seems on the contrary to have related to an ancient pronunciation, of which the vestiges still remain in Latin inscriptions, in which this word and its derivatives, when converted into proper names, as *Helpis*, *Helpidius*, *Helpidianus*, are always preceded by an H.

The 5th distich presents fewer difficulties than the rest; and the mutilation of the verses does not render their sense obscure:

ΑΝΔΡΑΣΜΕΜΠΟΛΙΣΗΕΔΕΠΟΘΕΙΚΑΙΔ - - -

ΠΡΟΣΘΕΠΟΤΕΙΔΑΙΑΣΗΟΙΘΑΝΟΝΕΜΠΙ - -

Our country regrets these warriors who fell before Potidæa.

The Δ which remains at the end of the 9th verse has suggested to me the supplementary words ΔΑΚΡΥΣΙ ΤΙΜΑΙ, (δακρυσι τιμαι)* *honours them with its tears*; although

* Ennius, a great imitator of the Greeks, has employed the same expression in his epitaph in elegiac verses:

Nemo me LACRUMIS DECORET.

Let no man grace my funeral with tears.

The Homeric phrase δακρυα λειβειν would supply the de-

I will not assert that this was the precise expression of the ancient poet.

At the end of the 10th verse I conjecture that the word, which is wanting, was ΠΡΟΜΑΧΟΙΣ.

The perpendicular stroke which follows the Π *(pi)* does not allow us to think of the word πολεμῳ, which would also render the expression less animated; whoever recollects the elegies of Tyrtæus will readily adopt the insertion which I have proposed. Thus the sense of the 5th distich will be:

This city honours with its regret and its tears the warriors who fell before Potidæa, exposing themselves to danger in the first ranks of the combatants.

The last distich has suffered more than the preceding. What remains of it is this:

ΠΑΙΔΕΣΑΘΕΝΑΙΟΝΦΣΤΧΑΣΔΑ - - - -

ΑΧΣΑΝΤΑΡΕΤΕΝΚΑΙΠΑΤ - - - ΓΤΚΙ - - -

The ΜΕΝ of the 9th line inclines me to

ficiency equally well, but would not afford so good a connexion with the words which follow in the next line.

believe that the Δ which follows the word ΦΣΥΧΑΣ must be marked with an apostrophe, and that the word which follows must begin with an A. This conjecture, indeed, I consider as a certainty.

The beginning of the last line has been impaired by the fracture of the marble. Taking every thing into consideration, I am disposed to adopt for the letters wanting ΗΑΙΠΡ (*αἱ πραξαν*).

The mutilation of the other end of the line seems to be equally easy to supply: the traces of the four letters ΕΥΚΑ suggest to me the aorist *εὐκλεῖσαν*, which I have already found in a metrical epitaph on a warrior of Megara.*

The three letters ΠΑΤ are probably the first of the word ΠΑΤΡΙΔ for *πατρίδα*.

Thus the whole verse would be read:

* That of Python. An extract from the memoir, in which I have explained this inscription, is printed in the first volume of the *Histoire de la Classe d'Histoire et Littérature ancienne de l'Institut de France*. We read in it, *πατρ' εὐκλειζων*, and *εὐκλεῖσ' Ἀνδοκιδαν*.

ΗΑΙΠΡΑΧΣΑΝΤΑΡΕΤΕΝΚΑΙΠΑΤΡΙΔΕΥΚλεΐσαν.

Αἱ πραξαν τ' ἀρετην και πατριδ' εὐκλεΐσαν.

Those souls who by the exercise of their virtue have added to the glories of their country.

The expression πραξαι ἀρετην, though I have no precise authority for it at hand, differs but little from the well known phrase πραξαι ἀγαθον, nor from another which is found in an oration of Aeschines,* πραττειν ἐπιτηδευματα; nor lastly from a third ποιησαι ἀρετας, which occurs in Aristophanes (Frogs, v. 1040):

Ὅθεν ἡ 'μη φρην ἀπομαξαμενη, πολλας ἀρετας ἐποιησεν
Πατροκλων, Τευκρων Θυμολεοντων.

Thus my soul, taking pattern from heroes departed,
From Patroclus, and Teucer, those chiefs lion hearted,
Mighty deeds has "atchieved."

[—— *The gallant deeds*
Of brave Patroclus, Teucer, "and Thymalion,"
I sang to fire each valiant citizen. DUNSTER.]

I cite this passage the more willingly,

* *Contra Timarchum*, p. 6. Ed Taylor, or p. 61. Ed. Reiske.

as it affords me a tolerably happy addition to the 11th line of the epitaph, which will thus become:

Παιδες Αθηναιων, ψυχας δ' ἀπομαξατ' ἀρειους
Αἱ πραξαν τ' ἀρετην και πατριδ' εὐκλεϊσαν.

And you, young Athenians, imitate (cause to revive in your persons) those courageous souls, who by the exercise of their virtue added new lustre to the glory of their country.

Before we quit this subject, it will be proper to notice the falsehood of the assertions of Democharcs, who, in order to calumniate the philosophers, and Socrates in particular, had maintained, in a work of which Athenaeus has given us some extracts, that no battle had ever been fought between the Athenians and the Potidaeans; his sole object having been to deprive Socrates of the glory of having been one of the combatants.*

* Athenaeus, b. 5. p. 215; and vol. 3. of the *Animadversions* of Schweighäuser on the same passage, b. 5. ch. 55.

This monument, contemporary with the facts which it records, affords us a new argument, in addition to a multitude of others, which have already been advanced by modern critics, in opposition to the calumnious assertions of this rhetorician, who has attacked the votaries of philosophy.

Thus, after the restorations which I have proposed, the sense of the part of the epigram which remains tolerably perfect will be nearly this:

Their souls high heaven received: their bodies gained,
In Potidæa's plains, this hallowed tomb.
Their foes unnumbered fell: a few remained,
Saved by their ramparts from the general doom.
The victor city mourns her heroes slain,
Foremost in fight, they for her glory died.
'Tis yours, ye sons of Athens, to sustain,
By martial deeds like theirs, your country's pride.

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